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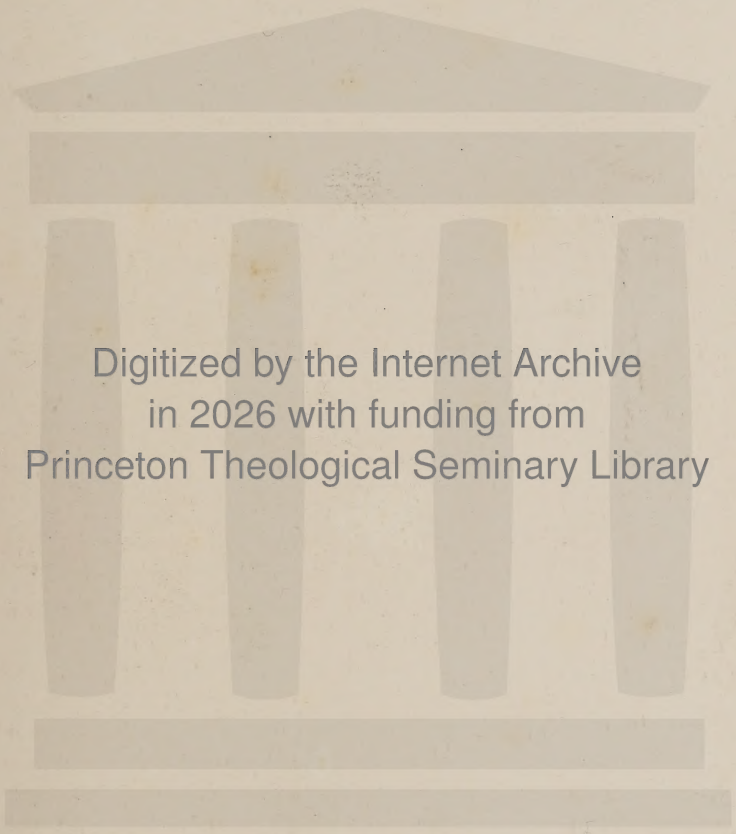
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THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

MAY 21 1917
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

STIRRING TIMES

OR

RECORDS FROM JERUSALEM CONSULAR CHRONICLES

OF 1853 TO 1856

BY THE LATE

JAMES FINN, M.R.A.S.

MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE DE PARIS; HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL FOR JERUSALEM AND PALESTINE FROM 1845 TO 1863; PRESIDENT OF THE JERUSALEM LITERARY SOCIETY FROM 1849 TO 1863; AUTHOR OF 'BYEWAYS IN PALESTINE' 'SEPHARDIM' 'ORPHAN COLONY OF JEWS IN CHINA'

EDITED AND COMPILED BY HIS WIDOW

WITH A PREFACE BY THE VISCOUNTESS STRANGFORD

Dieux el veult. Deus vult. (Council of Clermont)

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

LONDON

C. KEGAN PAUL & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1878

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DEDICATION.

With grateful heart we lay our tribute down
Before the feet of those whose patient zeal
In far-off lands still sought their country's weal.
No martial fame they craved, nor blood-stained crown,
On field, or breach, or deck, with corpses strown.
Guardians of right, and deaf to no appeal
From helpless poor, they made each tyrant feel
That quiet courage fears no mortal frown.
But some we mourn of those true hearts and brave,
Who waged with wrong the stern unequal fight:
Wearied and worn, amid the strife they fell,
And sank to early rest. They sought the right—
Then lay we reverently upon their grave
Records of truth—for crown of Immortelle.

E. A. F.

PREFACE.

To the Publishers.

I would gladly have complied more fully with the request to write a Preface to Mr. Finn's valuable book, had I been able to study it carefully; but, as you are aware, the proof-sheets of the work failed to reach me, shut up as I was for so many weeks in Sofia; and since it arrived here, I have been totally unable to give it the attention it justly claims, for, as you will easily believe, my work here is very hard and absorbing. Any attempt at an exhaustive Preface, therefore, would be an impertinence on my part: all I can venture to do is to tell you what strikes me most from my hasty glance at its pages, though I cannot believe my opinion or my thoughts are of any importance. Naturally the book impressed me the more, as the experience of a good many years has realised to me the enormous power, in a quiet way, that Consuls have for improving or disimproving the people in whose country they are placed—a power that is scarcely appreciated at home. If it were, perhaps more pains would have been taken in their selection, their salaries would be more carefully adjusted

to their needs, and their representations would be in many cases less unheeded.

We have in these pages a faithful picture drawn day by day of events that often seemed trifling enough at the time, and that were indeed only the affairs of daily life in such a country as Syria; and a stranger staying for a few weeks in the district might have called them 'much ado about nothing.' Taken as a whole, however—illuminated with retrospective light—they become a deeply interesting story. These are the small acts, the fine threads which weave the woof of history; here are the germs of those events which later on will be written in undying pages.

It is not to be denied that the book bears witness to the incapacity and feebleness of the Turkish Government in many places and in many ways; yet abundant assurance may also be gathered from its pages of the solid wealth of goodness and vast capacity for improvement of nearly all the unofficial natives, and in many, or some at least, of its rulers, who are too often, alas! overlooked by the Central Government.

How easily, indeed, these simple-minded people may be led! It is impossible to calculate how great the advance in civilisation would have been in forty or fifty years, had the Consuls been allowed to interfere as much for the advantage and improvement of the people as they did interfere for political purposes to their disadvantage and injury.[1] Had the English Con-

[1] See chapters x., xi., and xii.

suls been permitted by their Government to do as much good as other Consuls were instructed to do mischief, the state of the country would now be very different; and how much bloodshed, misery, and destruction of property, would have been saved![1]

To help the oppressed, of whatever creed or nation; to investigate cases of wrong; to check evil doings; to set the example of true justice and equal rights; to prevent human suffering and to succour the distressed; and to do it all 'quietly, so that few were aware that anything was being done'—all this is but the simple duty of a Consul.[2] Yet how few have done it! how rarely have they been instructed or permitted to do it—nay, how often have those that tried so to act been snubbed for 'interference' and 'giving trouble at home!' Was not that policy a short-sighted one which left to the most aggressive, rapacious, and intolerant Power on earth any pretext for a tremendous and disastrous interference, in order to 'protect the Christians of the East'? From the days of the Crusaders France and Italy have schemed and bribed and fought for the undivided protection of all the Christians in the East, with what variations of success, with how many Treaties, Firmâns, and Hatti Shereefs, other books relate to us besides the interesting sketch given by Mr. Finn. But Russian claim to any such right of protection, even for those of their own orthodoxy, is of very modern date.

[1] See pp. 185–197.

[2] Perhaps there has never been a more touching petition than one of those offered to Mr. Finn, addressed to 'him to whom the persecuted run.'

It is, however, none the less a sharp and murderous weapon when wielded in such hands as theirs. But surely some of us may permit ourselves to regret that England has so continuously refused to accept the noble mission, not of a high-handed, blustering 'protection,' which meant a great deal more, but of the gentle, quiet work of a protector who strengthens the upright, comforts the weak-hearted, defends the desolate and oppressed, executes justice, and maintains truth, without a thought of greed or self-interest. Mr. Finn says: 'By the time the Crimean War broke out the vigilance and industry of the British authorities had produced an appreciable effect. . . . A few more years, and the non-Moslems of the East would have grown happy and prosperous, and would have needed neither defender nor champion, for they would have been strong enough to take care of themselves. But what would then have become of the champions?'[1] The fact also of any Christian Power being openly united with the Sultan would prevent there ever being a really dangerous war, for recourse could not then be had to a Holy War of Moslem against Christian, including the pious slaughter of all but the professors of Islam.

We live so fast in these days that patience has become an old-fashioned virtue, the mark of a degraded and effete people. Time to grow is disallowed; development must be pushed on as in a forcing-house; and what formerly took a year must to-day be accomplished

[1] P. 193.

in a week. No one stops to consider now what Turkey was a few years ago—the country must be taken by the throat and throttled, because it is not advanced in the same degree as Western countries who have centuries of growth behind them. 'The Turkish power in Europe,' which was announced by the Duke of Wellington in 1829 as 'gone,' was indeed so hampered by internal rebellion, fomented entirely by foreign intrigue, that its struggle for existence has been fraught with all the evils of despair.

Hence have arisen much of the venality and corruption of the upper classes, making hay while the short summer lasted, knowing themselves unable to stand against the ceaseless and interminable intrigues which pervaded most of their provinces. A bold, intelligent policy would have removed every pretext for external interference; but the Turk was not accustomed to trust to policy, and he knew well the power of his sword of old. Thus, while he doubted, the evil hand of the foreigner led him to the pit which it had already dug for him among his own people. Unassisted by intrigue, few would have rebelled against the Government of their country, to whom many are still loyal: they rebelled only against the misgovernment of the Pashàs; they asked the fulfilment of the law already given, not by any means a new law or another yoke. As among the intelligent portion of the Bulgarians in Roumelia since the calamities of May, 1876, so among the Arabs in these past years, Mr. Finn tells us: 'There was nothing to endanger the safety

of Turkish dominion in Palestine. Left to themselves, the peasant factions of the Bedawy tribes, the Druses and the Maronites, might and did fight against each other; but of any insurrection against their lord, the Sultan, there was not the slightest danger. Local dissensions and hostilities might be fomented by intrigue from without . . . but of rebellion against the Sultan and his government there was no idea whatever,'[1] for the village laws were good, adapted to the country and the creed, and in Syria they were for the most part well carried out.

Whatever else their virtues and their vices, and however steadily they were advancing in civilisation, as most undoubtedly they were, the Turks were already far in advance of many a Western nation in one remarkable virtue, viz., religious toleration. Fanatically attached to their own religion, they keep it to themselves, and allow freedom of worship to others; religious persecution in the East is the exclusive property of the Christians, who have frequently invoked the aid of the Moslem against each other, to stifle progress, or to gain a temporary advantage for themselves. Yet how can we blame this apparent anomaly, when, at home in England, we find the very persons who are most active in sending missions to Russia, 'to convert the Russians to true Christianity,' are now the most enthusiastic in their praises of the 'Deliverer of the Eastern Christians,' and the most anxious for their victory over the one nation that has permitted

[1] Pp. 217, 220.

the preaching of the gospel in their country with the utmost tolerance! These good people have no words hard enough to express their indignation at the fanaticism of the Moslem, at the spread of Islam by the sword, and at the massacres of the four thousand Bulgarians who perished two years ago by the brutality of the Pomaks and Bashi Bozuks; but if the blood of these poor creatures shed by the Moslems cried out then to Heaven, what an awful cry must now be raised by the hundreds of thousands slain and done to death by the Christians? Mr. Finn rightly asks, 'Who instigated the Lebanon massacres of 1860? Who encouraged and revived the fast waning fanaticism of the Moslems?'[1] And we who see the terrible effects of the greed of Russia may also ask what sort of Christianity is that taught by the acts of the invaders of to-day?

Many an interesting parallel will be drawn from these pages of the situation of the years treated about in this book, with that of this year—of the origin of that war, which began in the heart of Jerusalem, in the Holy Sepulchre itself, though it afterwards became the war of the Crimea, and the war of 1877. Both wars owe their origin to Russian aggression and falsehood, for the Russians, in 1853, had, according to their usual custom, made the mistake of confusing protection and possession; they boldly asserted their 'right to protect;'—that is, to have the custody of[2]—the Holy Places, to which, in truth, they had

[1] P. 434. [2] Pp. 6 and 58.

not the very slightest right; while now, in 1877, after asserting their 'right to protect' the Bulgarians, the desire for protection was, as usual also, when convenient, changed into the right to possess them.

Turkey has suffered more than any country in the world by her visitors; no country has been so much visited by travellers, and none has been so imperfectly understood. The flood of travellers and travellers' books have made everything so familiar to the eye and to the ear that people have been led to think that, what they saw so easily, they must have as easily understood; whereas in all probability two-thirds of the stories they have read were but the imaginations of the writer, not the facts of the country. It is invariably he who has been the shortest time in these lands who thinks he understands them best; those who live there longest learn best how little they know. An intelligent traveller can 'see with his own eyes,' no doubt; but little good will that do him unless he knows the 'reason why' of what he has seen: the origin, the root of it contains probably the whole meaning. Hence the value of a book detailing the experience of a twenty years' resident, fluent in the languages which came daily and hourly to his ears. Mr. Finn rightly points out[1] that the lumping together of all the various races in Turkey, and believing that the same legislation and rule will do for all alike, is absurd; still more grossly absurd is the idea that, be-

[1] Pp. 212, 213.

cause acquaintance has been made with one race, the rest can be understood, and are known simply because they profess the same religion. This is all the less possible as Islam has almost as many diversities as Christianity. Yet no doubt after the present war not a few of the surgeons who have dressed the wounds of a Bosniak, or of an Arab, or of a Pomak, or of an Arnaout, will firmly believe that he knows the national character of all the 'Turks.'

In the same manner it is perfectly sickening to hear people, whose attention has only lately, for the first time, been drawn to Turkey, talking of the 'general state of European Turkey for the last four hundred(!) years' as similar to what intrigue and violence made part of it for one miserable month; and asserting that the normal condition of the country from end to end has been that of ceaseless massacre and rapine. A moment's thought, on the part of those who wished to speak the truth for truth's sake, would convince them that no human beings could have flourished as the Arabs and the Bulgarians have done had this been the case. Precisely so might a foreigner assert that the state of all the streets of London, and of all the towns in our provinces, was one vast scene of daily and nightly murder, burglary, lust, and brutality, after studying a monthly Report of the Metropolitan Police-office, and an annual volume of the 'Rescue Society,'—in which latter production it may truly be said there are more sorrowful horrors detailed as

happening in the heart of our civilised capital, in one year, than in ten years of Turkish provincial history. But how few of our politicians, who have chosen their 'side,' care to learn the real facts, the true realities of the subject!

If they do, here indeed is a book which will teach them much; here they will learn not only the events, but the motives from which they sprung; they will see a faithful statement of facts made without prejudice or misrepresentation; they will find a mine from which to dig much ore. For this reason I rejoice that you have decided to publish Mr. Finn's writings.

I remain, yours very truly,

E. STRANGFORD.

CONSTANTINOPLE:
April, 1878.

PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

In this work there are no doughty deeds or high achievements to be recorded, and we are unable to strike the bold key-note of

Canto l' arme pietose, e 'l gran Capitano.

For although my subject is one that has relation to great events, Jerusalem herself performed but little, visibly, among the acts done during the Russian war of 1853 to 1856. Her part was more passive than aggressive.

Neither does our scope include the large politics of Europe which moved and sustained the war, for we are confined to local affairs, described after an interval of several years from notes taken at the time.

Our topics are not, however, limited to description of Turkish relations with their own subjects and with the officials of foreign countries residing in Palestine. Our plan is rather to narrate any events that occurred within the prescribed limits of time, even though some of them may include details referring personally to the writer, and to give notices of the general condition of the country and of its inhabitants, the whole forming a kind of kaleidoscopic variety.

And yet not a mere kaleidoscopic medley for amusement, since these pages will exhibit the gravity of the issues involved in the war, the critical state of the whole country of Palestine at the time, the anarchy of the districts, the slight hold which the Turkish Government was able to maintain, and the facility presented for intrigues of foreigners. Considerations of some value in our days, and in the light of the Gortschakoff Circular of October, 1870, will be presented to our minds by the above topics.

The first rough draft of this sketch of the Holy Land during the Crimean War was made in 1870. The world was then in outward peace. The Prussians with their allies were at home; the French Empire was in existence, as well as the temporal sovereignty of the Pope; and the neutrality of the Black Sea was guarded by the Treaty of Paris. Great changes have taken place in all these affairs, and the security of Turkey, including Palestine, cannot but be affected by the disturbance of the relations to each other of the Powers involved in those changes.

Omitting speculations on the future, we may remark that the effect of the Russian war of 1853–6 was to set up the Turkish dominion on a firmer basis than before, certainly so in Palestine. Roughly speaking, however, the old routine of government continued with none but very paltry improvements in administration.

One more observation, and that in reference to the distant combatants.

The acclamation of 'God wills it,' which impelled the first Crusade, bore against the Moslem holders of the Holy Sepulchre; but the shouts of the war we are now considering were directed by representatives of the same nations, who fought in that first Crusade; but now they were fighting in defence of the Moslem holders of that same treasure, against a power which has only become fully Christian since the crusades, and which equally covets possession of the Holy Sepulchre.

Such are the changes which time brings about.

This was the outward aspect of events at the commencement of the struggle in 1853, but circumstances expanded in size as events progressed, the war lost the religious character of its beginning, and the wrestling upon that small 'arena' of the Crimea became one for mastery over vast regions of land and sea.

Opportunities cannot fail to recur so long as the same temptations exist.

Written in 1872.

It has been observed in connection with the competition of all European nations at present for influence in Jerusalem, and the decay at the same time of the Ottoman power, that all the Consulates (except the British) bear

the Eagle for armorial ensigns—the Russian, the Austrian, the French, the Prussian.

'For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the Eagles be gathered together.'

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.

JERUSALEM.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

The Eastern Question and the Crusades from the Jerusalem point of view—The object of the contest—The combatants as represented by their champions—The Author of this History, Mr. Finn, H. M. Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine from 1845 to 1863.

THE Eastern Question which is engrossing men's minds was the cause of the Crimean war, as we now call the Russian war of 1853–6. It was not a purely political question, in which nothing is involved beyond the possession of Constantinople. From first to last the question of the Holy Places in Palestine has been inextricably mixed up with the politics of the Eastern Question. The peace of 1856 was regarded by few as a final settlement of the dispute, though none could say when it might again break out and involve East and West once more in a sanguinary struggle.

The Eastern Question (and some will say, 'What is the Eastern Question?') has once again involved the nations of Europe in perplexity, has now once more been referred to the arbitrament of the sword.

If Jerusalem and the Holy Land be intimately and inseparably bound up with the Eastern Question, it may be of use to bring forward, at this juncture, all information which bears upon the subject; all which may throw light upon the origin of the disputes that led to the last war;

all that may enable us to understand better the actual condition of the Holy Land then—for without these facts before us, we shall scarcely be able rightly to estimate subsequent events in their bearing upon the present complications. As a contribution to this useful knowledge, the present volumes of 'Jerusalem Consular Chronicles' are offered.

The intent of this history is to show the condition in which Jerusalem and the Holy Land, the first cause and aim of the war, were during its course, and how they were thereby affected.

Jerusalem took no part in the war—her part was passive, not aggressive—and yet Jerusalem was in very deed the cause of the war—the prize, for possession of which two of the combatants were striving—the one (Russia) in attack upon Turkey, the other (France) in defence, with Turkey.

We had in the Crimean War one more Crusade waged for rescue of the Holy Places, only this time the Crusade was being fought by the champion of the Eastern Church, and there was room for doubt as to the purity of the motives which animated that champion in his zeal.

Fully to understand the significance of the early Crusades, it is necessary to have lived at Jerusalem.

The terms Eastern and Western Churches convey but little living reality to the mind, until one has beheld the thronging multitudes surge around the grand central

point to which all the branches of those Eastern and Western Churches gravitate; till one has beheld on the spot the ceaseless strife, the never-ending antagonism and rivalry between the two great divisions of the Roman World christianized. Though Russia was not included in the ancient Roman World, she now appears in the lists as champion of the same Eastern or Greek Church—known in the East not as the Church of the *Greeks*, but by the appellation under which that church is always called on the spot, the Church of the 'Room' (*i.e.* Romans).

The very heart and kernel of the Eastern Question can only be reached in the Holy City, Jerusalem, where the Eastern and the Western Churches are still wrestling as of old for the mastery, with all the forces, spiritual and secular, that each can bring to bear.

Now as heretofore, disguise the object as they may, they are striving for a prize which has not been destined by Divine Providence for either; and this prize is no less than a virtual dominion over the Christian World, from a throne of government within the Sanctuaries of the Holy City, and the possession of that throne would involve possession of the key to universal dominion.

Kinglake has well observed in respect to the connection of the Crimean War with the Holy Places at Jerusalem: 'The mystery of Holy Shrines lies deep in human nature. . . . For men strongly moved by the Christian Faith it was natural to yearn after the scenes of

the Gospel narrative.' ('Invasion of the Crimea,' vol. i. 40–41.)

And a Latin monk expressed simply and truly the feeling of most of those who have joined, or who are ready to join in these modern Crusades, when on being remonstrated with about a fight which had taken place in the very Church of the Nativity, at Bethlehem, and being asked, 'What must unbelieving Moslems think of such doings?' he answered, 'They see how much we love our religion, and that we are ready to fight and die for it.'

Mr. Finn, the author of this sketch, had ample opportunities for observing the condition of Jerusalem and Palestine before as well as during the Crimean War. He was Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine from 1845 till 1863, and lived in the land for more than seventeen years. Long previous study and a deep practical interest in the Holy Land had fitted and prepared him for entering with intelligence upon his official duties. Conversant with political affairs, and having a personal knowledge of European countries, he was also ready as a scholar and linguist, to enter at once upon the variety of interesting questions and subjects which present themselves for consideration in the Holy Land.

USEFUL DATES.

	YEAR
Napoleon Buonaparte in Syria	1799
Greek War of Independence begun	1821
Egyptians occupied Syria	1831
The Hatt-i Shereef of Gulhane granted by the Sultan	1838
The Battle of Nezib, June 24. Sultan Mahhmood died five days after	1839
Syria restored to Turkey	1840
The Tanzimât Hairiyeh promulgated	1841
War between Turkey and Russia	1853
France and England, as allies of Turkey, declared war against Russia	1854
Sardinia joined January 10	1855
Sebastopol taken September 8	1855
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Peace concluded March 30	1856

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English Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25 30
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
DEAD SEA
BAHR-LUT
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Sûr
Tibnin
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ACCHO PTOLEMAIS
Bay of Acre
C. Carmel
Haifa
CAESAREA
Athlit
PEREGRINUM
Tantura
DOR
Jebel Ajlun
Jerash
GERASA
Amman
Rabbath
RABBATH-MOAB
Ashdod
Ascalon
el-Mejdel
MIGDAL-GAD
Gaza
Ghuzzeh
Joppa
JAFFA
Ramleh
Ludd
LOD, LYDDA
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Beersheba
BEER-SHEBA
Nablus
NEAPOLIS
SAMARIA
SEBASTE
Jenin
Megiddo
Nazareth
Tiberias
GALILEE
SEA OF
GENNESARET
Safed
SEPH
Kedes
KEDESH NAPHTALI
Hazor
Dan
Banias
CAESAREA PHILIPPI
PANIAS
BAAL GAD
Jebel Esh Sheikh or Jebel Thelj
SHENIR
MOUNT HERMON
Lebanon
Beyrout
BERYTUS
Zahleh
Baalbek
Damascus
Hasbeya
Jordan
Zerka
Yarmuk
Wady Zerka Ma'in
Hot Springs
CALLIRRHOE
Machaerus
Jebel Attarus
Ma'in
Medeba
Heshbon
HESBON
Elealeh
Shihan
Arô'er
AROER
Dhiban
Kerioth
KERIOTH-MOAB
Masada
Engedi
Arnon
Wady el-Ahsy
Wady el-Fikreh
Wady Mahadeh
Wady es-Seyal
Wady Jeib
Wady Ghuweir
Wady Murreh
Wady Zuweira
Wady Ghuzzeh
Wady Sherea
Wady Ghurundel
Wady Ghuzzeh
Wady Ghuzzeh
Wady Ghuzzeh

PART I.

PRECEDING THE DECLARATION OF WAR

CHAPTER I.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—APPROACH OF WAR.

Departure of the Turkish battalion from Jerusalem, September 19, 1853, for the War—Guardianship of the Christian Sanctuaries—Stealing the silver star at Bethlehem—The question of the Sanctuaries mooted in Constantinople—'Afeef Bey—Turkish Commissioner in Jerusalem assembles the Christian Patriarchs at the Holy Sepulchre—Scene at the Virgin's Sepulchre at the foot of Olivet—Settlement of the Dispute about the Sanctuaries, April 22, 1853—Question of Christian protection in Turkey by Europeans now sprang up—Rumours of War—Russian invasion of the Principalities.

On September 19, 1853, a large proportion of the inhabitants of Jerusalem was assembled on the Meidân or public promenade, at that time in existence[1] to the west of the city, and near the walls, to witness a benediction of the battalion with its colours, which was leaving us for scenes of warfare in defence of Dâru'l Islâm, or territory of Mohammedan possession.

Such an event had not occurred there since the era of the Crusades, for at the period of the French invasion of Egypt and Expedition to Palestine, in 1799, Jerusalem had no force to send out: it was then a poor deteriorated town, although enclosed then, as now, by crenellated walls with gates and stout towers for a citadel, its only military occupation being that of a handful of Bashi-bozuk;

[1] The new Russian buildings, erected since the Crimean war, now occupy the space formerly devoted to the Public Promenade or Meidân.

and therefore the French general was entirely in the right for his strategical object when he advanced straight towards Acre, without apprehension of consequences from leaving Jerusalem in his rear. At that time the strongest edifices in the city were the several Christian convents, strong as buildings, but tenanted only by timid ill-used monks. A peculiar character of sanctity was, indeed, impressed upon the place, in accordance with the several creeds of its population, whether derived from possession of the Holy Sepulchre by the professors of one faith, or of the Hharam esh Shereef by those of another, or by the reverence of a third community, who lived comparatively unnoticed, for a fragment of the western wall of the old Temple of Israel. But a slumber of ages had at that time eliminated from Jerusalem all public spirit, or means even of self-defence, much more every possibility of contributing to external warfare.

Our parade inspection and the public prayers were followed by acclamations of the multitude; and as the column marched off, with the Syrian sun glinting along the moving steel—for they marched with fixed bayonets—and as the latest trumpet-notes died away in the distance, we were left behind with leisure for meditation on the novel condition of affairs and speculation as to the eventualities of an unknown future.

Nineteen years[1] having now elapsed since that date, we have sufficient opportunity for reviewing, in the light of other transactions, the motives and the acts which for some time before had been preparing the crisis of that day; and in so doing we are assisted by the fact that the

[1] These words were written in 1872 by the author.—Ed.

originating circumstances were connected with Jerusalem itself, for all the world knows that the Russian war of 1853 to 1856 sprang from a controversy about the rights of guardianship at the Christian Sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as claimed by the convents respectively of Latin and Greek rite.

The near connection in which the Latin and Greek communities stand as either joint or part guardians of the Sanctuaries which belong to our Lord's history—a matter of such solemn import to both—soon degenerated into hostility and strife, not for a dogma or a creed, as Christendom has in other places so often witnessed, but for possession or custody of locality, inch by inch; and this state of things was perpetuated through the lapse of several centuries. The animosity ripened into personal violence, to the scandal of other Christians who heard of such doings from a distance, and the ridicule or contempt of unbelievers.

The weapons used in such warfare were indeed carnal, even bodily fists, besides crucifixes and huge wax tapers taken from the very altars. In 1846 the author had in hand, fresh from such a battle, a narrow plank of cedar wood which had covered one of the rents in the rock of traditional Calvary, and was inscribed with a Greek statement to that purport in characters of silver laid on: this had been torn up from its site, and split across in the fray.

Such combats were not, however, confined to Greeks and Latins, though these were the antagonists in questions of proprietorship of the main objects of reverence. I have known of two such occurrences between Greeks and Armenians—one in Bethlehem, when the

former laid down a carpet over nearly all the approach to the altar of the Armenians, and then defied the latter to tread upon it. This of course led to altercation of tongue and to violence, in which severe wounds were inflicted, and on hearing of which the townspeople rushed into the church, breaking down the locked and bolted door, and took share in the proceedings according to their respective factions. The other was in Jerusalem between the same parties for first receiving of the Holy Fire from the Sepulchre on Easter Eve in 1853.

Similar scenes have been occasionally described in the published journals of travellers, but we are here limited to what was actually witnessed within a given epoch by residents in the country, to doings which are scarcely to be mentioned with patient moderation of language, considering the character of the places, and the professional offices of the personages concerned.

It is an error, however common, to apply the term 'rights of property' to what should rather be designated as 'custody' of the Holy places; for strictly speaking the property is that of the Sultan of Turkey, as its territorial suzerain. This proprietor had at different previous epochs accorded, by Firmâns or other documents, the care of the venerated objects to one or other of the Christian communities, and thus much indeed is implied in the very fact of appealing to those documents during the dispute. It is important to bear this distinction in mind, as it follows necessarily therefrom that the territorial sovereign might, upon sufficient cause appearing to himself, transfer his indulgence to either party from the other as he pleased. This, however, is but an abstract

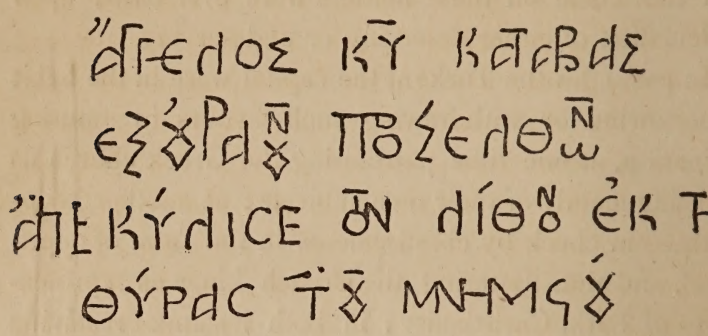
position : it does not appear that the contrarieties lately complained of as existing among the documents emanating from the Porte on these matters were ever based upon a calculation of either deserving or undeserving.

In past ages the Turks at the capital were in the habit of bestowing or withdrawing such favours in amusing alternation, at one time patronising the Greek church as consisting mainly of their own subjects ; at another keeping these in check by chastisements in the form of deprivation, and thus flattering the French kings as representatives of Latin Christianity : in both instances receiving large pecuniary presents and fees, while at the same time proudly upholding their own prerogative of dominion, which they never frittered away for money consideration.

Local quarrels at Jerusalem frequently took place between the parties interested, when the Vizierial letters, or Firmâns, relating to the Sanctuaries, were antagonistic, until in 1757 they became so serious that by a Hhatti Shereef the Latins were deprived of the church at Bethlehem, the tomb of the Virgin Mary near Gethsemane, and the custody of the Holy Sepulchre, with only toleration to worship at each, all prior concessions notwithstanding.

After the fire in 1808, which consumed large portions of the contiguous buildings, besides the chapel itself, of the Holy Sepulchre, the Greek Christians, in respect of the above Hhatti Shereef, and of their being subjects of the Porte, were authorised (most happy privilege !) to repair the damages at their own expense. Hence it is that to this day we see Greek inscriptions, in an artistic quaint character, about the Sepulchre and the Stone of

the Angel, and Greek pictures on the exterior of the chapel.



After the repairs had been made by the Greeks, fresh altercation ensued, so violent that in 1819 the French and Russian Governments were called into action on behalf of their respective clients there. King Louis XVIII. and the Emperor Alexander, though recently made friends by the most intimate political ties, were thus drawn into a dispute about Jerusalem, not for a crusade against unbelievers, but in opposition to each other—the former as hereditary 'Protector of Christianity in the East,' meaning his own section of Christendom; the latter as monarch of the majority of adherents to the Greek Orthodox Church, to which also the majority of Christians in Turkey belonged: neither of them having the least item of political right for intervention beyond the meanings of words which might be wrung out of friendly favours granted by the sovereign of the country.

As a desirable preliminary, envoys from each side were sent into Palestine for collecting information on the spot, M. Marcellus in the French interest, and M. Dashkoff in that of the Russians. All seemed in a fair way towards adjustment when the Greek war of Inde-

pendence broke out (1821), and the enthusiasm of the French in aid of the revolt brought about a new complication. The Turks would then listen to no overtures from either side, but treated Greek orthodox and French Catholics as hostile to Ottoman domination, and so both the convents, with their adherents in Jerusalem, had to shift for themselves, subject to personal severities and pecuniary imposts, which might have ended in massacres had the inmates been laity instead of clergy and monks.

The episode of the Egyptian hold upon Syria, from 1832 to 1840, placed other obstacles in the way of coming to an understanding respecting the Sanctuaries. If he had taken part with either side, Mohammed Ali would probably have favoured the Latins, in consideration of the number of Franks employed in his military and civil service; but owing to his indifference for any creed, his policy became rather that of keeping down all such litigation with an arm of iron, in the temper which pervaded his whole administration,—for under him the natives felt the roughshod ruling to correspond with their own proverb—

Ez-Zulmeh be-saweeyeh
Adâleh le ra' aeeyeh

(tyranny with equality is righteousness to its subjects), and they preferred that style of government to the alternate slip-shod heedlessness and villanous cruelty of the old Turkish era. Such disputes therefore had no existence in the Egyptian period.

The Turks were restored to Syria at the end of 1840, rather more liberal in profession than they had been before leaving the country, and next year promulgated the Hhatti Shereef of Gulhâneh, which conceded a theo-

retical equality (far from practical) among all classes of subjects.

In 1846 they had a man of vigour for the Governor of Jerusalem and its dependencies, Mehemet Kubrusli Pashà, who made short work with monkish dissensions in his day.[1] The two Easters, European and Oriental, happening to come together that year, the disputants, for first turn of celebration on the altar of Calvary in the eve of Good Friday, became combatants: many wounds were both given and received from articles of sacred use. At last his Excellency brought up a military force, and with his own hands removed the Greek altar-cloth of coloured silk and gold, which had been forcibly placed above the Latin altar-cloth of white linen. Complaint was made at Constantinople of his sacrilegious partiality, but with no result.

The next year, however (1847), another governor of inferior mental calibre being in office, we learned one morning in November that a strange affair had occurred in Bethlehem. Close adjoining the Holy Manger there is another site of even higher veneration, which is surrounded by lamps of silver and gold perpetually burning, and marked out by a silver star let into a slab of marble on the floor, and the star contains these words in Latin—'Here Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary'—an inscription admirable in its very simplicity. This had been placed there above a century ago by devout votaries of the Latin communion, and surely

[1] This Pasha afterwards rose to be Ambassador in England; then Seriasker, or Commander-in-Chief; and he finally attained to the highest dignity of all—the office of Grand Vizier. He died only a few years ago.

any stranger to the habitual rivalries of the place would suppose that there at least all animosities should be hushed, seeing that both parties concurred in the belief that the words were true; but alas! they are in Latin and not Greek—the star was therefore regarded as a badge of conquest, intolerable to the Orientals, although on the other part we have never heard of the Latins attempting to deface the Greek inscriptions at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

News however arrived among us that, on repairing to the Sanctuary for early morning service, the Latin monks found the silver star was no longer there, and that tokens of violence used in wrenching it away were evident. This event proved a turning point for questions of protection of the holy places in higher quarters, which the French authorities then took up in thorough earnest.

The abstraction of the silver star from the crypt at Bethlehem had, it seems, been preceded by a bodily conflict in the church. The Greek monks during one night had run up a temporary wall in a certain situation, which would shut out the Latin processions from access to the Sanctuary for performance of daily services at the 'Manger.' The Latin president, with his brethren, at once proceeded to remove that obstruction, when the others rushed out, and a fight ensued, in which several Greek priests, and (it is said) a bishop, took part, and wounds were inflicted on both sides.

Either on the succeeding night, or very speedily after it, the star was stolen, and what became of it has never yet been ascertained. The Latin monks, with their clergy and laity, declare that the Greeks took it, and

carried it off to their convent of Mar Saba in the wilderness, where great rejoicing was made over the booty acquired from their adversaries. They assert likewise that a certain Greek priest of Bethlehem, who was named, was missing from his convent at that precise time without returning thither.[1] They argue, with every probability of reason, that the sacrilege cannot be laid to their charge, for the star was a permanent token of their property in the spot where it was laid, and inscribed in their own language: their object of desire must therefore have always been to keep it there, or if any motive could have led them towards such a proceeding, they would not have torn the star away by hasty violence, as in this instance was apparent, for one of the screws was still in its place with a fragment of the silver attached to it, as I myself saw to be the case.

In after controversy on the subject, it was argued on the other side that the Latins did it with a design of casting odium on their suffering rivals, and of exciting compassion on their own behalf; also that five years previously the Latins had complained at the Porte of the Greeks designing to steal it, when they alone had even dreamed of such a thing, and, in consequence, had obtained an injunction against its removal. This fact showed that the deed, when at last committed, was that of the Latins, for the Greeks, being subjects of Turkey, would not have ventured to disobey the Vizierial

[1] The object stolen is not the same, but this event bears a curious resemblance to that of Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered,' Canto II. 8:—

> Non rivide l'immagine dov' ella
> Fu posta, e invan' cerconne in altro lato, etc.

order. This does not seem to be a valid plea ; it might rather tell in the opposite direction, namely, that five years before 1847 there had been grounds for fearing that the sacrilege was intended.

However, the tidings spread rapidly over the country, and M. Marabutti, the Russian Vice-Consul at Jaffa (there was then no Consular office in the Greek interest at Jerusalem), hastened up to make enquiries on the spot.

The French Consul in Jerusalem, M. Hélouis-Jorelle, appears to have been rather apathetic on the matter, so much so that the discontented Franciscans[1] threatened to place themselves (which, however, would not have been possible) under Turkish rule, and to register in the British Consulate a deed declaratory of their reason for doing so.

The Sardinian Consul then began to take up the matter on the ground of the president of 'Terra Santa' being an Italian subject. The friars, however, did not attach much importance to his good offices ; but this step being taken, the French Consul began to stir himself, and ran to an opposite extreme. He repaired to the Pashà, and 'in the name of France' demanded to have the star replaced, without trusting to the dilatoriness of any investigation whatever.

Civic Councils of the Mohammedan Grandees were held for deliberation, and reports were forwarded to superior authorities on all sides at Bayroot and Constantinople. In one of these to his Government, the Pashà stated : 'I should have been able to recover the star at

[1] At this period the Franciscans were the sole representatives of the Latin Church.

the very beginning if the French Consul had not meddled in the business,'—a very Turkish expression, capable of various and opposite interpretations, but which, at any rate, showed his inadequate conception of the gravity of the case: looking upon it as he would have done on any police affair of petty larceny, imagining that if the article was restored, no more need be said about it, and no party be held amenable to the accusation of sacrilege.

The business was transferred to Constantinople, and the discussions between the Porte and the Ambassadors inevitably brought up that of rights pertaining to the two leading Christian Churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as the arrangers of the theft doubtless intended it should do—rights which, so long as the Turkish monarch abstained from disturbing them (and by no conceivable sort of circumstances could it be imagined he would presume to abrogate them in the face of all Christendom), practically amounted to those of actual property. The Mohammedan ruler would seem to have reserved to himself no more than the power to adjust the conditions of custody.

The French were the first to moot the subject of these general claims in Constantinople. This was done in 1850 when General Aupick, the ambassador, appealed to the Treaty of 1740 between France and the Porte, in which the 33rd article runs thus :—

'The Latin monks residing at present, as heretofore, within and without Jerusalem, and in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, called Edmamé,[1] shall continue to pos-

[1] Sometimes in Turkish written Kemâmeh: its real name is Kiâmeh, *i.e.* the Resurrection. The term employed in this text is a most opprobrious epithet invented by the Moslem rulers.

sess the places of pilgrimage which they now possess, in the same manner as they have heretofore possessed them; and they shall not be molested by demands for contributions; and if they should be engaged in any law-suit which cannot be decided on the spot, it shall be referred to our Sublime Porte.'

This treaty, however, owing probably to the political events in France during the interval, had been long suffered to pass unnoticed, while the Greek convents had procured several concessions to their advantage; yet taking up the document as it stands, and pointing to this cited clause, we have the topic still open to discussion, in what manner, and to what extent did the Latins hold the 'places of pilgrimage' heretofore, *i.e.* previous to 1740.

General Aupick assured Sir S. Canning that the appeal for decision was in nowise a political one; it was on a mere question of property already defined by express treaty. But our ambassador, reporting this at home, saw that it would be extremely difficult to separate that question from national politics and embarrassments of the highest class.

During the discussion the French accused the Greek ecclesiastics, among other matters, of having some time before wilfully destroyed the venerable tombs of Godfrey de Bouillon and Guy de Lusignan.

The directions from London were to watch proceedings, but in no way to take part in them.

At Jerusalem the feeling was as keen upon the subject of the great dome over the Sepulchre, as upon any other. The fact was apparent that the dome had been by repeated acts rapidly, and piece by piece, stripped of sheets

of lead on its southern side; each party, Latin and Greek, accused the other of having done this; but a stranger might naturally ask what could be the motive for doing it at all? The explanation lies in the maxim of Turkish law, that whosoever is owner of the covering of a house, is owner of the house; and, of course, the owner has the right or duty of keeping it in repair. Now each of these parties would have been most happy to provide funds for obtaining in this way a property so much coveted: the repairing of the cupola being allowed to prove the right to proprietorship. Both were willing to represent at Constantinople the fact of rain in the winter season pouring down through the dismantled portion upon the pavement below, and to call attention to the disturbance of divine services by the twittering of numerous martens and swallows visiting their nests within the dome and galleries; also to the circumstance of the huge timbers of the cupola having become so rotted by exposure to the weather, that danger to life and limb was imminent from the expected fall of the same; and both parties were eager to outbid the other in money at the Porte for licence to rebuild.

This topic scarcely, if at all, appears in the correspondence laid before Parliament.

It would appear that, in *official form*, the appeal as to the Sanctuaries was first laid before the Porte by M. de Lavalette, who had at the beginning of 1852 succeeded General Aupick in the embassy.

By February 9 the business was so far advanced that the Turks promised, in the shape of a 'Note,' to concede to the French the right of officiating at the

Sepulchre of the Virgin Mary near Gethsemane, and to leave all the other points *in statu quo antè*. These were not satisfied; but after a time agreed to the arrangement on condition of the Ottoman Government declaring the old treaty of 1740 to be still in force.

The Russians, patronising the Greek orthodox claims in the dispute, were angry at so much being conceded to their rivals, and were only appeased by the issuing of a 'Firmân,' which virtually nullified the 'Note' given to the French. These in turn took umbrage at the tergiversation contained in the 'Firmân;' and the Turks, tortured between the two, both screwing their pretensions by threats to the utmost, at length promised the French that the Firmân for the Orthodox should not be *publicly read* in Jerusalem. To the Russians they promised to evade delivering to the Latins the keys of the Bethlehem church and of the Virgin's Sepulchre; each device being of course kept secret from the party which was to lose by it. The wonder is how the Turkish Divân could hope by such very short-sighted expedients to content the powerful parties before them; for the period would be so very brief before an explosion must take place, leaving themselves in discredit and dishonour from both sides of the appellants; but, indeed, the Ottoman Government was unable to meet the peril of the emergency, should it be pushed to extremity: they could only hope for a miraculous intervention of Providence to aid them in their duplicity.

'Afeef Bey was commissioned by them to execute at Jerusalem the opposite acts of the Council.

In the flush of triumph attained through the Firmân, the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem (who usually resides at

Constantinople) repaired to his diocese, where he was met by M. Basili, the Russian Consul-General of Syria, with Prince Garan (the latter bearing for the occasion the nominal office of Vice-Consul) and a suitable train of minor officials; they entered Jerusalem together in great pomp of reception by the native community.

This was in the first week of September, and on the 15th they were followed by the important Commissioner, 'Afeef Bey. On the approach of the latter, the grandees of the city, including the two native Patriarchs (Greek and Armenian) and the Pashà in person, rode out to afford him an honourable welcome.

The next day I paid him a visit, and found him a gentleman of refined address, tempered by habit and office. He very blandly said that he should pay special attention to any information or counsel I might be willing to give him; but it became my duty to assure him that I was precluded from mixing in the transactions then in hand. And, indeed, during all the time of his stay I limited my intercourse with him to topics of common and public attention. This was necessary, not on account of any directions *ad hoc*, received from official superiors, for such were generally very rare, and in this stage of proceedings absolutely none: but also from the difficulty of getting exact knowledge on these matters from the parties concerned; and it was evident, as the double-dealing of the Turks soon afterwards came to light, that this was the best line of conduct to pursue.

Other Consuls, even those not chiefs in the transaction, were not so delicate on the subject, and among the actors

of the scenes and their adherents, what schemings, what heart-palpitations, what reservations, what guessings at motives, what scannings of words, one by one, as they dropped from the Commissioner, were set in motion during the last three months of the year 1852!

On October 26 'Afeef Bey invited the Patriarchs and those Consuls whose business it became, to meet him in the Kiâmeh, *i.e.* beneath the great dome and in front of the Holy Sepulchre. There he made an oration, eulogising the well-known anxiety of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan to bestow contentment on all classes and degrees of his subjects, and of which such abundant tokens had been afforded to his illustrious allies, etc., etc., which harangue he protracted till the Greek Patriarch and the Russian Archimandrite waxed impatient for the reading of the Firmân which was to secure them the long-expected victory.

Thereupon the Bey invited all the parties to meet him again at the Sepulchre of the Virgin, and when assembled there he slowly read in their hearing an order of the Sultan conferring upon the Latins the privilege of saying mass upon that tomb on the usual commemoration day, from which function they had been many years excluded: this grace was, however, counterbalanced by a regulation that the altar and its orthodox ornaments or furniture were not to be disturbed for that celebration. Here a perfect storm arose on the part of the Latins at this qualification of their privilege, for they declared it impossible to officiate with schismatic vessels and a crucifix of uncanonical material and form.

The Commissioner rushed hastily out of the hubbub

to his lodgings, but thither he was pursued by the Russians who now opened their eyes to the momentous fact that after all the Firmân had not been read. 'What Firmân?' 'Why that Firmân which you yourself drew up in my presence at Constantinople,' said the Prince Vice-Consul. 'Ah! that Firmân; well I must say that I have it not with me.' Basili stamped with rage, and at last 'Afeef Bey confessed that he had received no instructions to bring it, or to communicate its contents.

The Russians then demanded to have a city council of the Moslem grandees convened, with themselves and the Greek Patriarch present, at which meeting an official answer should be given and recorded respecting the Firmân. Poor old Hafiz Pashà (at that time Governor of Jerusalem) summoned the Effendis and the military commandant to form the council; but when they came together, there was no commissioner in attendance, and the Pashà could only say that he had no power to enforce the presence of a commissioner coming on a special duty direct from the Porte—that he knew nothing about the business on which M. Basili had desired them to meet; he only knew of the Sultan's benevolent disposition towards all classes and degrees of his subjects, etc., etc. And so ended for the moment the solemn farce, the details of which were given me immediately afterwards by one of the personages officially present on the Latin side, who chuckled with admiration at the legerdemain of the Turks to the confusion of both parties.

M. Basili promptly dispatched his Prince Vice-Consul to Jaffa to lay hold of any Arab vessel (shakhtoor) that could be got, for conveying the tidings to Constantinople.

Next day I visited the French Consul, M. Botta, and

found him profoundly occupied in writing, surrounded by a mass of protocol-sized papers ; he was in excellent spirits and said that, so far from the litigation about the Sanctuaries being terminated, it was only then at its proper beginning, and it certainly seemed that this opinion of so laborious a worker in the agitation ought to be considered to a good extent well founded.

In the above proceedings it was natural for the Russians to attach so much importance to the Firmân, seeing that in such matters they had nothing but Firmâns to rest upon, and could have no other documents, the Greeks of Jerusalem being Rayahs (subjects of the Sultan), while the Latin cause was based upon the superior obligations of a treaty: the difference is this, that a Firmân is a temporary grant from the Sultan to his subjects, which may possibly on after occasions be revoked or changed; but a treaty is a mutual covenant between equals, which can only be cancelled by consent of both parties.

The Turks then adroitly crowned their diplomacy, by sending a new silver star to Bethlehem, as a present from the Sultan, and thus removed this dangerous cause of dispute; the inscription is again in Latin.[1] The replace-

[1] Does it not seem incredible that, notwithstanding all these proceedings and the great war that followed, the very same sacrilege should be attempted afresh in 1863 or 1864? The following is found in Consul Rhodes's 'Jerusalem as it is' (London, 1865). At Bethlehem 'we remarked that the nails which secured the points of the silver star to the marble slab, on the birthplace, had been drawn out and the star loosened. This had been done by the Greeks the night previous to our arrival with the design of removing the star, because of the Latin inscription it bears, which is very obnoxious to them . . . . The Greeks, however, in their attempt to tear off the star, were surprised by a body of Franciscan monks, who called in the usual peacemakers between the quarrelling Christians of Palestine, the Turkish soldiers, who at once put a stop to the vandalism.' (P. 122.)

ment was performed with much ceremony by the Latin Patriarch, to the infinite delight of his spiritual subjects, three days before Christmas, so as to be ready for the midnight Mass. At the same time the keys of both the great church there, and of the Crypt of the Holy Manger, were delivered to the Latins by the Commissioner, whose labours thus were closed.

The anger and disappointment of the Orthodox Church both in Syria and Russia were extreme. Our Parliamentary Blue-Books describe the state of mind of the great Czar at this betrayal of what he considered his rights; and the despatch to Baron Brunnow declaring the Imperial sentiment was immediately followed by the march of the fifth *corps d'armée* to the frontier of the Danube, to be followed again by the fourth, the total amounting to 144,000 men, and shortly afterwards, during the Austrian remonstrance against the Turks putting down by force the insurrection of Montenegro (or Kara-dagh, in Turkish), the Russians took the opportunity of grafting upon that remonstrance (which, however, did not belong to them, being entirely an Austrian question) a protest and threat of their own; but these are matters of European history rather than ours, and would have been so exclusively, had not the Czar appended to the instructions given to their mission extraordinary at Constantinople the subject of the Holy places in Palestine.

The connecting link between Montenegro and Jerusalem was a thread of extreme tenuity, scarcely perceptible without explanation, namely that in both localities the Turks were supposed to be oppressors of Christianity under the form of that orthodox creed which Russia upholds.

The European politics of the Latin cause received an additional impetus at the same time from the elevation of Louis Napoleon to the Empire of the French, a circumstance which undoubtedly threw immense weight into that scale.

Prince Menshikoff arrived at Constantinople on the special mission with the new year 1853, during the absence of the chiefs of both French and English Embassies. The comportment of the Prince forms an episode in history not easily forgotten by students of the Blue-Books, or of the pictorial pages of Kinglake.

The English Ambassador, now raised to the peerage, returned from London just in time to mediate, at their own request, between the disputants for the Holy places, with respect to which two great points had been already decided:—1. The silver star and the keys of Bethlehem; 2. The annual service at the Virgin's Sepulchre. But some delicate though minor items were as yet unsettled. They were matters chiefly of routine or precedence which the outside world would regard as of little value, but which were not so considered by the heated parties engaged about them. In little more than a fortnight all was concluded upon a footing which still subsists, and is likely to do so until some national convulsion, such as a European conquest of Syria, shall require a new arrangement.

The Sultan's share in the happy termination amounted to this, that the silver star was to be looked upon as his donation, without conferring any exclusive right upon the Latins notwithstanding the language of its inscription, and the great Cupola of the Kiâmeh was to be repaired at

his cost, without alteration in its form.[1] And thus ended the controversy upon Convent privileges or rights in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, April 22, 1853.

Yet the matter of Christian protection in Turkey by Europeans, which had been called up, now showed itself like the cockatrice from the serpent's root (Isaiah xvi. 29). The simile of a Phœnix springing from the ashes of its predecessor would not here apply, inasmuch as the new apparition was no creature of beauty, but a ghastly monster which arose, menacing sorrow and destruction to large hosts of mankind.

In this sketch of Palestine during the Russian war it is not intended to discuss the politics of London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Constantinople or Vienna: these can be sufficiently learned elsewhere, and indeed they were not clearly understood at the time in Jerusalem, excepting such incidents as the never-to-be-forgotten conversations of the Czar with Sir H. Seymour respecting 'the sick man,' and the division of his property—the proceedings of Prince Menshikoff at the Porte, and the fate that befell his ultimatum. In the expected dislocation of Eastern affairs we should probably have been surprised at no unusual occurrence, hardly perhaps at a French or Russian invasion, which, however, among officials, was a topic kept out of conversation: of rumours we had an ample supply. Those were not the days for us of daily telegraphic despatches, but the uneasy public mind required food for speculation. That food was provided by

[1] This item was afterwards modified by consent of all concerned. The dome was repaired and richly decorated in 1869, at the joint expense of the three Emperors (French, Russian, and Turkish), after protracted delays since the project was first brought forward.

foreign consuls and their dependants, by travellers, by the convents, and by the Turkish *employés* or bazaar newsmongers. Strange was the medley; and feverish restlessness was the effect created.

Sometimes the German Consular folk circulated (often prematurely) inconsistent intelligence about Russia and Austria at Constantinople; for the after policy of the German Powers was not at that time exactly defined. Then a traveller from the United States reported what he had seen of the French fleet at Toulon, where there were thirty-seven ships of the line, four of them above 120 guns each, ready to set sail at command in thirty minutes.

Again in the middle of April, at Jaffa, an attempt was discovered to smuggle in twenty-three barrels of gunpowder by a Bethlehemite of the Greek rite; the powder was seized and sequestrated into the castle there; the lighterman was imprisoned. At such a crisis the circumstance was not without its significancy. Were the native Greeks preparing to help the Russian cause directly, or only indirectly, by selling gunpowder to the peasantry and thus promoting their faction fights, by which the country might be thrown into a state of anarchy? About the same time our English travellers in the hotel became accustomed, as I was told, to indulge in plain speaking on the subject of Russian spies. This was done with unusual emphasis one day, expressing a hope that if there should be any such unhappy persons among the strangers present, they should hear something that might do them good; and at that moment a gentleman, not English, was seated in a corner of the long sofa, reading my 'Britannia' newspaper, which had been sent down for travellers' use.

The speakers went on, each one retailing anecdotes that had come to his knowledge while traversing the continent of Europe, about spies frequenting the 'tables d'hôte.' Thus was mere daily chat infected with the all-pervading topic.

Next in the same month of April we learned from 'the ordinary sources of public intelligence' that the authorities in Trieste were carrying out martial law with vigour against the English, as well as against the inhabitants of the place, but that had possibly no immediate connection with the great Eastern question which absorbed our attention. War gossip filled the air.

Then, at the end of May, we were assured that H. E. Rasheed Pashà being again in office as Grand Vizier, war had been declared by Turkey against Russia. The French and Prussian Consuls were positive on the subject, but the Austrian was diplomatically not so certain. On the contrary, June 3, Count Nostitz, commander of a Russian ship of war, on his arrival told us that he had left Alexandria on the 21st ult., where at that date they had not heard of Prince Menshikoff leaving Constantinople.

On the 7th we heard for certain that the Russian Embassy had left the capital; but it was said that this did not of itself amount to a declaration of war.

The Austrian Consul was now sure that hostilities were to commence on the 3rd of Bairam (probably this meant Shawwâl), that is to say after the lapse of a month, as it was probable the 'Ulêma calculated upon that being a fortunate day for beginning so weighty an enterprise. At last on the 13th came intelligence of importance, for

we learned that the Muscovites had entered the Danubian principalities on the 27th ult., and that as this move very seriously concerned Austria as well as Turkey, the former had found it necessary to adopt correspondent action, and had pronounced itself to be in alliance with England and France. Prussia was said to have done so a fortnight earlier, but no Power had as yet in form declared war. In reality, however, the tedious Vienna conferences dragged on for three months longer, with the aim of averting if possible the evils of warfare upon so large a scale as was impending over us.

On receipt of the tidings that Russia had really invaded the principalities, I sent to the Russian Archimandrite Porphyrios, enquiring if the news could be depended on. He replied that their army had really entered Wallachia (as the two provinces were then usually called throughout Turkey), and, pointing to luggage lying ready for transport upon mules and camels, said, 'See I am preparing to leave you at a minute's notice.'

That day the French and Prussian Consuls went off to Bayroot and Constantinople in search of information and instructions as to conduct; they remained about three weeks absent.

CHAPTER II.

THE PARTIES IN DISPUTE—GREEKS AND LATINS—THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CHURCH—THEIR HISTORY.

Greek Church regarded by the Turks as Church of the country, since Conquest by Omar, 636—Greeks in Palestine consist of native laity and parish priests, with foreign Greek higher clergy and bishops—Crusades to them a 'Papal Aggression'—Natives of Palestine excluded from the monasteries—Hence all the Higher Clergy are Foreign Greeks—Greek Convent, *i.e.* 'Dair-er-Room'—Patriarchate—Patriarch Cyril—Wealth of the Convents—House property in Jerusalem and Lands beyond the Walls—Archimandrite Nikephoros—Greek Church at the Holy Sepulchre—Russian Gold in the Bazaars—Armenians, their Convent and Patriarch—Their supreme Pontiff, the Cathoghigos at Utch-Miazin, now a Russian subject—Russian Church—Byzantine Empire new Rome—Syrian, Coptic and Abyssinian Churches in Jerusalem—Latin or Western Church—Old Rome—Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem—Crusades—Franciscan Friars established in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, 1234—'Terra-Santa' Pilgrimages—Latin Convents—Alms from Europe—Casa-Nuova Hospice—Convent Authorities—Statistics—Latin Festivals at various Sanctuaries—Pilgrim Certificate—Revival of Latin Patriarchate in 1848—Monsignor Joseph Valesga—His State entry into Jerusalem—First public Latin ceremonial since fall of the Crusading Kingdom—Position of the Latin Patriarch towards other Churches, and towards the Latin Terra-Santa Convents—Licence to a Priest—Ship's Patent for Terra Santa.

BEFORE proceeding with a narrative of events, it may be as well to remind ourselves with special clearness as to who were the parties in dispute for the Holy places, and how they were circumstanced.

In common parlance they are designated the Latins and the Greeks—*i.e.* the 'Catholic' and the 'Orthodox'

churches, respectively—whether correctly so named with regard to theology is not our concern; but such are their self-assumed appellations. The Greek Church was regarded by the Turkish Government as the church of the country, established before the Moslem conquest by Omar.

In Jerusalem the Greek communion consists of native (Palestine) laity and their parish clergy, with foreign, that is to say, real Greek archimandrites and bishops presiding over them. These people, as a Church, are representatives of the primitive Hebrew and Syrian Christians of the country, and also of the Greek Christian Empire, in succession of race, church, language, and residence. They are the same community that held out Jerusalem against the Caliph Omar, and with whom, on their surrender, he made his treaty of capitulation, A.D. 636. The fullest account of their ecclesiastical organisation is to be found in Williams's 'Holy City,' second edition.

To them the period of the Crusades, beginning in the eleventh century, was one of sheer disaster. It was one of 'Papal aggression,' for the Latin Church then became dominant under a Latin Patriarch, and their 'Orthodox' clergy, being displaced, took refuge at first in Petra, then elsewhere as they could find shelter; but on the restoration of Moslem rule by Saladin, the native Christians received once more their proper clergy, smiling, we may suppose, at their departing oppressors styling themsleves 'Catholic.'

In the sixteenth century the Orthodox Committee in Constantinople, which is named the 'Brethren of the Holy Sepulchre,' under their Patriarch Germanus, passed

enactments excluding natives of Palestine from their monasteries for ever, and whereas in this, as in all Oriental churches, the bishops and other dignitaries are elected from among the monks only, the natives are thus rendered incapable of attaining to office or dignity ecclesiastical; they can only become secular clergy, that is to say, parish curates, who are commonly married men, miserably poor.

It so comes to pass that the entire administration of this ancient church throughout Palestine is understood to be in the hands of the 'Dair-er-Room,' *i.e.* the Greek convent, the popular concrete designation of the whole.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem, ruling over the territories of Palestine, Phœnicia, Idumæa, and Arabia Petræa, is always a foreigner, and almost always an absentee at Constantinople, conducting politics and intrigues with the Porte.

The Greek Patriarch in 1853 was Cyril, a fine old gentleman of great urbanity of manner—self-possessed and dignified—not easily to be forgotten by anyone whom he received in the spacious rooms of the Greek convent, where he lived when in Jerusalem. The great divan of scarlet, over which was spread a leopard-skin, was in good keeping with the stately figure of the Patriarch, in his robes of rich black satin, with immense diamonds and emeralds surrounding the enamel painting of the Redeemer on his breast.

The Greek convent is to the Moslems and Turks the representative body of this chief among the Christian communities, as they naturally regard the Greek Church, which was the one in possession when Omar conquered

Jerusalem, and with whom the terms of capitulation were arranged. The other Churches have also their respective convents.

All the convents—Greek, Latin, and Armenian—possess untold riches in jewels and gorgeous vestments, the presents of foreign monarchs or other great benefactors—the vestments more numerous than can be crowded for exhibition into any single celebration with however many changes of mitres, dalmatics, or chasubles. Those of the Latin convent were in modern times derived mostly from Spain and Austria. The Greek and Armenian convents receive costly presents from Russia, and from wealthy votaries in Constantinople. The latter has resources also among the richest merchants of their community in India.

These Oriental convents lay up vast stores annually of food and fuel, which their funds and influence enable them to procure from the villages at peculiar advantage. It need scarcely be added that the dignity of these institutions is paramount among the laity of their respective communions, and was much more so in the old times, when these had no other protectors from the tyranny and rapacity of the dominant Moslems.

Even at this day, though with less of irregularity, the Effendis of the town-council, together with those holding offices of governmental trust, such as police, etc., derive considerable emoluments from the dissensions among these establishments, which have so much money at command, and are always soliciting their votes and patronage in the council.

The Greek convents in Jerusalem are numerous,

chiefly for residence of men, and the principal one is that of 'Constantine;' the monks live well, and show the effects of it in their portly presence; also when they ride abroad, and that is not uncommon, they display the best horses that can be procured, short of the 'Aseeleh class of the wilderness; or if mounted on mules, as old men may be seen mounted, they must have showy trappings.

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the several churches or other property belonging to this corporation within the walls further than to say that, besides maintaining without diminution its ancient property, it has for several years past pursued a scheme of buying up houses, or shops, or waste ground, or even fractions (kirâts or twenty-fourth parts) of such properties all over the city indiscriminately, till it is believed that more than a quarter of the whole has come into their hands as freehold purchase.

Without the walls the 'Greek Convent' has, moreover, of late years made large acquisitions of land, which have been carefully dressed and planted, mostly with mulberry trees for supply of silk works, a very praiseworthy undertaking. This species of property, together with the employment of the peasantry which the cultivation of it necessarily requires, gives them an influence among the rural population which other parties would be glad to obtain; while their town acquisitions and their monetary wealth, freely used in the several judicial courts of local government, tell also in this latter direction, till the very name of 'Dair-er-Room' becomes a talisman of power far outside the circle of its ecclesiastical concerns.

Among the rules of this corporation it may be noted

that, on embracing the monastic profession, the votaries are not bound by a vow of poverty: consequently they retain their former possessions during life; at death, however, property falls into the general fund. Thus it happens that when Archimandrite Nikephoros, or Priest Benjamin, purchases and improves lands (for such persons, being natives of the Turkish Archipelago, are, like other subjects of the Porte, at liberty to purchase and hold lands or houses), they have a life-interest in the same, and in the process of improvement, they are preparing the estate to come to the Convent in better condition at their decease.

The large and gorgeously decorated Greek church, standing among the other places of worship which are grouped around the Holy Sepulchre, together with their multitudinous pilgrims annually collected from many parts of the world, and their splendid processions, all these give likewise to the 'Orthodox' community a great and envied position in the Holy City, besides the circumstance of having had at all times so conspicuous a share in guardianship of the Sanctuaries at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. The Greek authorities were anxious, when the war broke out, to remind all with whom they came into contact, that at this juncture they were loyal subjects of the Porte, and were no more dependants of Russia. Still it seemed that they must have some regard for that nation, of a kindred faith, who annually contributed for maintenance of the Sanctuaries no less a sum than 3,000*l.* a year.

Russian gold five-rouble pieces had been well known and very common in Jerusalem three years before the

Crimean war. Indeed, at times no other coin of about the same value was in ordinary circulation in the bazaars. From 1848 onwards much of this gold passed through the hands of the Archimandrite Nikephoros, whom the peasantry on this account called '*Aboo Dhahab*'—'The Father of Gold.'

The Greeks were in reality not willing to come absolutely under the yoke and dominion of Russia, while on the other hand some portion, at least, of the Russian people regarded this invasion of Turkey as entering into the 'old Byzantine' 'new Roman' Empire, and the Czar as its lineal and natural sovereign, even irrespective of his being the head of the Church. They also regarded the Franks as *schismatics*.

It does not belong to this subject of the world's debate of 1853–6 to make reference here to the other oriental Christian churches, beyond mentioning that the wealthy and powerful Armenian Convent, with its resident Patriarch, having its Supreme Pontiff, the Cathoghigos, at Utch-Miazin, within the limits of modern Russia, may be not unfairly judged to entertain some favourable inclination towards the Czar's interests; they, however, in Jerusalem professed extreme loyalty to the Turkish Sultan.

The established church of Russia is a daughter of the Holy Orthodox Apostolical communion, that is to say, of the Greek Church here under consideration, by having received therefrom its early Christianity; hence it is that the Emperor of all the Russias, with his huge political might, pays particular respect to the Church at Jerusalem, and has long been in the habit of bestowing upon it pre-

sents not only of money, but of church furniture and church pictures, besides employing to his utmost extent an active interference on its behalf with the Turkish government, to which by far the greatest portion of the Orthodox Church is subject in European and other provinces, as well as in the Holy City, Jerusalem. We have seen a church picture with a Russian inscription on its frame at the solitary town of Es-Salt, in the wilderness beyond Jordan.

There were other churches represented in the Holy City, who were not involved in the great controversy. Among these was the ancient Syrian Church, which claims to be the Primitive Gentile Church founded at Antioch by the Apostles, and considers the Greek Church much in the light of a usurper, which, after the accession to Empire of Constantine, despoiled it of the very Sanctuaries now in dispute. There were also the African Churches, the Coptic and the Abyssinian, also very ancient, and these too had suffered hard usage in past times from both the great antagonists. They all now looked on, wondering whereunto these things would grow.

The Latin or Western Church.

The Western Church—now as heretofore the great antagonist of the Greek Church—had only been brought into contact with the Moslem rulers of the Land at the Crusades. On the great schism of Eastern and Western Christendom in the ninth century, the latter division, broadly speaking, was limited to Europe: it had Latin for its language instead of Greek, and the city of Old Rome for its metropolis.

Among the confused historical notices that we have of times in early succession to the Mohammedan conquest of Jerusalem, it appears that, during the seventh and eighth centuries, the native Church of Palestine became so disordered in discipline (I omit considerations of doctrine) that the Pope of Rome was frequently appealed to for nomination of their Patriarchs, and accordingly several were installed upon a Roman appointment. This was a perilous state of things, but afterwards the Church recovered her freedom of action, which she retained till the era of the Crusades. During the continuance of the Latin kingdom (less than a century), her official framework could only be preserved at a distance, as before stated.

Under the Latin kings and Crusaders the Franciscan friars, of the Order 'Minores observantes,' set up oratories for themselves in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, A.D. 1234, six years after the original foundation of the Franciscan brotherhood. They have ever since held part possession of those stations, watching at the Holy Manger and the Holy Sepulchre by supplies of a few brethren at a time coming from Europe, amidst persecution or sometimes martyrdom, alternated by occasional grants or favours conferred by the Moslem government at the intercession of the French ambassadors.

But such sufferings they only shared in common with the Greek monks.

In a retrospection through 'the Dark Ages' no indication is found of the Latins being at any time the exclusive custodians of the Christian Sanctuaries—only we have their own designation of themselves as the 'Terra

Santa.' The presumption would naturally lean the other way in favour of the subjects of the local dominion, and this view would seem to be borne out by a passage that has been cited from the 'Travels of Archbishop David of Ephesus,' A.D. 1470, in which, after details concerning sanctuaries and ceremonials in Bethlehem, he adds these words, 'The heterodox likewise enter here and have divine service in the holy place itself;'[1] evidently meaning the Latins, as if their separate services were allowed as an indulgence. It was clearly his opinion that the Franks were only there upon sufferance.

During the after periods, every book of travels by Europeans gives us notice of the existence of the Terra-Santa friars; as in fact their hospices were the only places where the writers could find lodging, and into their ears the unhappy inmates were accustomed to 'pour the sad tale of all their cares,' describing the ill-usage received from both their Mohammedan tyrants in city and country, and from their rivals, the Oriental Christians. With respect to the former we have Niebuhr, in 1761, saying thus:—'The European monks, who are now the only pilgrims that visit the Holy Land, describe those Arabs (between Ramlah and Jerusalem) as devils incarnate, and complain dolefully of their cruelty to the poor Christians. Those lamentations, and the superstitious piety of good souls in Europe, procure large alms to the convent of Franciscans at Jerusalem. The exaggerated relations of the sufferings of the pilgrims, from those inhuman Bedouins, will therefore be continued as long as they can serve the purpose for which they were intended.'

[1] Διὰ τὸ καὶ τοῦς ἑτεροδόξους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγιῷ τόπῳ εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ λειτουργεῖν.

And with regard to the latter, we find in the 'Prospetto generale dei Francescani, da 1768 sino 1856,' the piercing outcry that 'il santissimo sepolcro sta in commune con i Greci ed Armeni scismatici. Ahi dolore!—gli scismatici *semper parati ad prædam.*'

In 1570 the Turkish rulers expelled the Franciscans from their house at Nebi Daood on Mount Zion, where the cœnaculum (or apartment of the original Lord's Supper) formed part of their establishment; there they had been since 1365, and they removed to the spacious building which they now hold close against the city wall, inside on the north-west; they always, however, represent this removal as a case of persecution, for the cœnaculum is regarded by them as the oldest possible house of distinctive Christian worship in the world, the site where Mass was first celebrated, and that by our Lord himself. They have, however, purchased a privilege of holding occasional services in that chamber, and of permission to conduct pilgrims thither.

At Ramlah, a Spanish convent of the same Order was annexed to the hospice at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

During the French revolution, the friars were made to suffer on account of their prior dependance for outside protection upon the French nation, at that time in a state of hostility to the Ottoman Porte; most of their hospices and some churches were demolished, such as those of the Flagellation in Jerusalem, St. Peter at Tiberias, and the hospice in St. Jean d'Acre. The community was of course subjected, as they had been long before, to *avanias*, which are forced contributions of money, levied at random times,

and often without any other reason assigned than *sic volo, sic jubeo.*

After that period, as travelling eastwards became less rare, and reading more common, complaints are found in books of travels, of the ignorance, bigotry, and self-indulgence of these same friars. Thus Lamartine, about 1830 (vol. ii., p. 59), describes them as the lowest peasants of Spain or Italy, some as runaway conscripts, or political refugees, wasting away life in indolence, having no other employment than keeping up the routine of chapel services, walking on the terraces or roofs, or framing cabals, Spaniards against Italians, or the converse; entirely ignorant of geography, of Scripture history, or the writings of the Fathers—devoured by ennui, and sighing for a return to Europe, with, however, the honourable exception of a few who troubled themselves with learning Arabic and serving as parish curates. A vessel arrived every two or three years for effecting removals or changes among them. 'Their barns and cellars are well stocked, their edifices are well kept up, and they lead a life of comparative wealth.' . . . 'I heard of no scandals of life . . . . they are simply and sincerely credulous (in the matters of their silly traditions).' 'At Nazareth,' this author found 'not one able to maintain a rational conversation even on subjects peculiarly their own;' but some in that convent were leading 'a holy life of ardent faith and active charity, humble, mild, patient, and willing servants to the brethren and to strangers.' Such were the impressions recorded by Lamartine.

The alms supplied from Europe for the general support of Terra-Santa institutions then amounted to be-

tween three and four hundred thousand francs (12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.*) annually, which were employed according to circumstances by the Father Superior.

In still later times, it is to be hoped that the character of that fraternity in Palestine is somewhat improved. In my time I never heard of disorderly life among them; only the Consuls and others used to complain of their stupidity of ideas and obstinacy. In Jerusalem they conducted day-schools for children, and a printing-press; they also kept up, for form's sake, that rule of their Order which enjoins a subsistence on mendicancy, one of their number going round occasionally to a few houses with a bag, asking for contributions of food, of which, as may be believed, they are far from being themselves in need, thanks to the funds supplied from Europe; but the rule of St. Francis does not preclude them from distributing to the poor at their gates what they have collected in the bags.

The authorities always aim at maintaining one English subject among their number in Jerusalem, and this is useful for intercourse with our travellers arriving at their hospice called the *Casa Nuova*: the one left there in 1863 was an Irishman, who by no means confined himself to that simple office: he was always ready as a guide to the Sanctuaries, and inveighing with characteristic fervour in the cause to which he was attached.

The government of Terra Santa lies in—

1. The *Vicar-father*, who in former times was always a Frenchman, when French monks existed there.

2. The *Fiscal-procurator*, who is always a Spaniard.

3. The *Custos* or chief, styled 'Reverendissimo,' who in fact is always an Italian, although no others than French are excluded from that office.

The accounts are audited every month. The treasury, which is an iron chest, has three keys, one kept by the Custos, one by the Procurator, and the other by a secretary.

The convents of St. John's ('Ain Carem), a few miles distant from Jerusalem, and that of Cyprus, are exclusively Spanish, that of Ramlah mostly so.

The monastery of the Carmelites, on Mount Carmel, is independent of these Franciscans of Terra Santa, and has its own special history as well as affairs, of which much might be said if necessary here.

In the course of a conversation once held with the Latin Patriarch, His Grace lamented the paucity of subjects under his jurisdiction; for he stated that among all classes of them, and throughout the Holy Land (a term which in their reckoning includes Northern Syria, Egypt, and Cyprus) he could scarcely estimate their census at half a million.

In the general report of Franciscans in the Holy Land, delivered in 1856 by the ex-Custos, Bernardo di Montefranco, to the chapter-general in Rome, the details are as follows among other items, and omitting those of Egypt and Northern Syria.

The parishes constituted in Palestine are seven—

Jerusalem	Jaffa	Bethelehem	St. John's
Ramlah	Acre	Nazareth.	

Classification and Number of the Fraternity.

Ex-provincials	2	Disengaged	3
Apostolical missionaries	45	Cleric	1
Penitentiaries	10	Professed laymen	92
Preachers, not missionaries	6	Clerical novice	1
Teachers of boys' schools	16	Tertiary	1
Visiting priests	40		

(But it is to be noted that in this table some individuals are probably included in more than one of the classes. The lay-friars are still in the majority.)

At each convent alms are distributed to poor natives, of food, clothing, and, in some instances, of medicine. The hospices entertain pilgrims or travellers gratuitously.

(Thus far the Franciscan Report.)

At these last-named establishments, by order of the College of the Propaganda in Rome, with consent of the Venerable Council (Discretorium) of Terra Santa in Jerusalem, pilgrims are lodged and fed in Jerusalem for a whole month gratuitously, and in all others about the country, for three days. European travellers, however, usually bestow donations on their departure, equal to the amount of a good hotel-bill, and some very much more.

As for medicines, the friars who attend to that department are for the most part extremely ignorant of their science, but from practice it cannot be but that they acquire some knowledge of the simple diseases of the country, and of remedies to be applied. In Jerusalem there is a regular hospital and dispensary, independent of the convent, to which the French Government largely contributes.[1]

[1] We are only speaking of medical relief with which the Terra Santa has any relation. Several other communities now have hospitals of their own in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Nazareth (1872).

Besides the great festivals of the Church, there are local celebrations in Palestine of conventual appointment, viz.: at Tiberias for St. Peter's day (June 30). The monks leave Nazareth and hold a convivial feast at Cana; also one on the traditional Mount of Beatitudes, and at the supposed site of miraculously feeding the five thousand upon the way to Tiberias; then, on the return, upon the summit of Tabor, and at the fabulous Mount of Precipitation. The excursion lasts four days.

At Bethany, the raising of Lazarus is commemorated on July 22, besides a service held at the reputed house, or rather some of the old foundations believed to belong to the house of Simon the leper, on the Friday after the first Sunday in Lent.

On Mount Carmel, and the Mar Elias, which is halfway between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the festival of St. Elijah (Elias) is held in July, and maintained for several days with much animation by the Christian population arriving even from long distances.

Previous to 1848 the 'Reverendissimo of Terra Santa' was the highest authority of Latin interest in the country. He performed not only the functions of a Bishop, but was Deputy Grand-Master of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. In his name the certificates were issued to pilgrims of their having performed their vows.[1]

[1] THE PILGRIM CERTIFICATE.

[Translation.] In the name of God. Amen.

To all and singular who may see, read, or hear this letter read. We, Custos of the Terra Santa, do certify and notify, that arrived safely on the day and on the following days visited the principal Sanctuaries in which the Saviour of the world mercifully delivered His chosen people, together with the lost generations of the human race, from the slavery

The Reverendissimo of Terra Santa also granted licences to trading ships in the Levant for carrying the Jerusalem flag of five crosses *gules*, in virtue of which they enjoyed certain exemptions on the part of local governors, based on the theory that they were bringing provisions from Europe for support of the convents—a duty in our days utterly unrequired.[1]

Revival of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

In 1848, however, a novel sense of elasticity was imported into Roman Catholic affairs in Palestine and Syria by the revival of the office of Patriarch of Jerusalem, which had lain in abeyance since the epoch of the Crusades. The use of the words 'elasticity' and 'novel' implies the previous existence of a contrary, a proportionately 'dead weight,' and such indeed was the case. It could not be otherwise in a time of non-persecution, while the spiritual, and very much of the temporal, rule over the natives adhering to this creed lay in the

of Hell: namely Calvary where being nailed to the cross, by overcoming death He opened to us the gates of Heaven—Also the most holy sepulchre wherein His most sacred body reposed for three days before His most glorious resurrection—Also all the holy places of Palestine, sanctified by the footsteps of the Lord, and of most Blessed Mary, His mother: and such others as are accustomed to be visited by our devotees and pilgrims.

In faith whereof, we have commanded this document, furnished with our seal, to be delivered by our Secretary.

Given at the Holy City of Jerusalem in the Venerable Convent of St. Salvatore.

day month, &c.

By command of the Very Reverend Father in Christ.

(Signed)

[1] For an amusing account of the fate of such a cargo when taken by pirates, see 'Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope,' vol. i., pp. 32, 34, 35. This occurred in 1827.

hands of heavy and ignorant friars. Even their own monastic affairs were mismanaged; they made no efforts to keep up with the progress of events, small as that was, around them: for since the restoration of the Ottoman Government in 1840, intelligent travellers to the Holy Land became multiplied—the Greek clergy and laity were, in some perceptible degree, awaking from a long lethargy; so were the Armenians, and Protestants had already received their second bishop. A restoration of the Patriarchate was therefore resolved on in Rome, to wield authority over all persons of its communion in Syria and Cyprus, thereby withdrawing episcopal functions from the monastic guardian of the holy places.

The ecclesiastic selected for the office was one of some previous note, a Genoese named Joseph Valerga, who had in early life served as secretary to a Papal delegate in Syria, then as missionary in Baghdad, Mosul, and Persia, in which latter capacity he had evinced a fervour of temperament equalling that of the friars in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, for on one occasion, by pushing forward ultra claims in some professional business, he got into a street riot, and to this day carries a bullet lodged in his neck, then received.[1]

He was at the time of his promotion to Jerusalem in full vigour of life, about forty years of age, and enjoying a reputation of being learned in several Oriental languages. He studied sufficient dignity of deportment, and his people addressed him by the title of 'Your Grace.'

The advent had been prepared among us by a mission from M. Guizot, of Eugène Boré, formerly the French

[1] The Patriarch Valerga is now dead.—Ed.

Consul in Damascus, and sanguinary persecutor of the Jews upon the false accusation implied in the asserted death of Father Thomas (A.D. 1840). At this time M. Boré was a member of the Jesuit Society, and regarded as one in the very odour of sanctity. Within the Terra Santa convent he abode in seclusion for a time.[1]

The actual arrival of the Patriarch was an event of no common interest to the Roman Catholic body—exultation to some, but disappointment and dislike to the conventual party.

In order to make the entrance to the holy city deliberate and formal, his Grace did not come direct from Jaffa and Ramlah, but passed the night at the convent of St. John's, or 'Ain Carem, so as to have only two hours for the morning ride. He was accompanied by a numerous train from Jaffa, including several Vice-Consuls from that place, with their officials.

In the morning, besides the French and Sardinian Consuls (then the only Roman Catholic Consuls in the country) in full uniform, with their appropriate trains; a deputation from the Turkish authority, consisting of the Pashà's dragoman, the city treasurer, and the chief of the police, each with his staff of subordinates; and all townsmen of the Romish creed, in gala costume, on horseback; together with armed peasants, Latins from the Christian villages, advanced to 'Ain Carem for the escort of the Patriarch. The wild hills and the quiet valleys, over which they passed in the approach to Jerusalem, re-

[1] He was afterwards sent to China, and on his way out, when visiting the Pope, His Holiness bestowed on him a special benediction *with thanks* for his zeal in defence of the Faith, as shown in Damascus.

sounded with shouts and screams of joy, and a running accompaniment of musket shots (the pieces on festive occasions are usually loaded with ball, in order to increase the loudness of the report), which were all redoubled on coming within view of the Holy City. It is superfluous to mention that these demonstrations were not assisted by the Christians of any other communion.

It was a cold but bright wintry day of February, and the city was all astir at the novelty of the proceedings. The house prepared as the patriarchal residence was not far within the Jaffa Gate, but the Patriarch did not go there first. Passing on towards the Latin convent, the Patriarch was met opposite the Convent Hospice by the monks amid a clerical procession in sacerdotal vestments, bearing a canopy (baldacchino), and friars carrying huge lighted tapers. The Patriarch assumed his robes and jewelled mitre in the open air, and passing by his door they all proceeded, chanting the 'Te Deum laudamus,' through the street to the convent church of St. Salvatore (St. Saviour's), where a long service of installation was performed.

The French Consul takes precedence on all occasions in which Latin interests are concerned, being the Consul for the nation whose title is 'Protector of Christianity in the East.' The Sardinian Consul, however (while yielding place to his French colleague), also appeared in state on this occasion—not merely as the Consul to whose nation the Patriarch, Monsignore Valerga (a Piedmontese), belonged personally by birth. He did not wear his usual consular uniform of dark blue and gold, but was seen for the first time in a new uniform of brilliant

scarlet. We were informed that on this important occasion he regarded himself, not so much as Consul, but as taking part in the ceremonies in the capacity of Envoy of the King of Jerusalem—one of the titles claimed by the King of Sardinia. How strange this sounded within the walls of the Holy City, amid all the stir and excitement consequent on the revival of the Latin Patriarchate and the first public ceremonial of the great church of the West since the fall of the Crusading Kingdom! On this day the streets had once more re-echoed the chant of white-robed choristers with priests and friars, bearing aloft the sacred emblems in public procession, amid long disused pomp, with glitter of gold and jewels, and, strangest of all, ushered through the narrow streets by Turkish officials and by the Moslem Kawwâses, not only those attached to the Roman Catholic Consulates, but by the Kawwâses which Turkish liberality of rule allows each head of a religious community, in recognition of his rank in the state. The Oriental Patriarchs had their Kawwâses, the Chief Rabbi had his, so had the English Bishop, then, of course, the Latin Patriarch was entitled to have his also.

The English Consulate had, of course, no direct official relations with this Patriarchate any more than with those of the Greeks and Armenians, but formal visits were annually paid to such dignitaries, and received in return at the new year and Easter periods, also on our Queen's birthday.

When the Pope's anniversary festival was notified by the Patriarch in 1849, it so happened that the Pope was then in exile from his own dominions, so that he could

scarcely be regarded as a temporal sovereign, and therefore no visit was paid to the Patriarch, as his representative, by the Protestant Consuls, and the future recurrence of it was never announced to them.

I always continued on friendly personal terms with Monsignore Valerga, for we could converse on topics of European politics or of Oriental learning. At one time I lent him the two great volumes of the Bible as recently translated into vernacular Chaldæan by the Armenian missionaries of Oroomiah, and at another opportunity offered assistance in procuring publication, by means of our learned societies at home, of any particular manuscripts that he might desire. This was after he had shown me several Syriac manuscripts of great rarity and beauty collected by himself in Mesopotamia.

The Patriarch possessed considerable talents for business and local diplomacy, for which there was, or for which he had created, material within the range of his jurisdiction. The distinctive character of Romanism as to ecclesiastical aggression and superiority of tone in conduct lost nothing by the appointment of Monsignore Valerga, notwithstanding his affable demeanour in social conversation. And in the same saloon for general reception there stood conspicuous a velvet-covered throne, raised upon steps, surmounted by the Papal insignia; this was used by him upon ceremonial occasions of receiving deputations—and the refreshments tendered were at all times, as a rule, handed to him by the attendants before being presented to the visitors, as would be done in Italy with Church dignitaries.

From the assumption that the Roman is the only true church anywhere, it logically follows that this was the only true Patriarch in Jerusalem, notwithstanding the unbroken succession of the Patriarchal office in the Greek Orthodox Church at Jerusalem from ante-Nicene times; and both he and his party felt entirely free in conscience as to any charge of schismatic intrusion within the domain of the Orientals.

The Greeks and the Armenians were angered at this Latin institution raising its head once more among them, which could not fail to bring to remembrance the election of a Latin Patriarch by the crusading army on its march, before even coming in sight of Jerusalem. The Latins had now, however, no military force for establishing their creation, and all that could be done was the safe, the neutral proceeding of leaving Monsignore Valerga to his own devices, while the others pursued each his own line of duty. 'Que le Pape crée des patriarches de Jérusalem nous nous en inquiétons fort peu. Notre gouvernement (le turc) s'est-il jamais alarmé des titres de "Roi de Jérusalem?"' Such was the language of a Smyrna pamphlet on the Greek side upon a later opportunity—so the Eastern churches kept on their monotonous course, leaving their European rival to confer whatever titles she might please upon her own agents.

The Anglican Bishop and the Latin Patriarch made no advances towards each other; but they met sometimes at public celebrations in the British Consulate, and joined in conversation when this was commenced by other persons.

The party which felt most practical annoyance from

this new institution was that of the Franciscan convents; for the influence of the great name of 'Terra Santa' subsided at once, and for many years afterwards sharp hostilities continued between the two Powers, chiefly upon financial matters, in which the Patriarchate made huge demands of money, and consequently gained knowledge of the state of the treasury. The supreme government in Rome made fruitless efforts to end these conflicts by sending repeated commissions of enquiry; but even when some amount of reconciliation was effected, the smart of past wounds would yet remain.

Henceforward the patents and licences (except those of pilgrims visiting the Sanctuaries) were issued in the name of the Patriarch instead of the President of Terra Santa,[1] and episcopal functions were transferred to the Patriarchate.

But all this was about *regimen* within limited circles. The Patriarch was not the 'Protector' of the Latin Christians—they, including himself and his office, were under a far more powerful Protectorate, as we shall soon see.

Thus much concerning the *Ecclesiastical* parties in litigation on behalf of the Sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Bethlehem prior to 1853, in so far as those parties were represented in the Holy City itself. But each of those parties—the Eastern Church and the Western Church—was backed by a political supporter. The Emperor of Russia was the champion of the Eastern Church; the

[1] For copy of the Licence to a Priest, and of the Ships' Patent for Terra Santa, see at the end of this chapter.

Emperor of the French was leader of the forces marshalled in defence of the Western Church.

Of these champions we will speak in our next chapter.

Licence to a Priest for Absolution at Confessions.

(Translation.)

JOSEPH VALERGA,

By Divine compassion and by Grace of the Apostolical See, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, &c., &c.

To our beloved in Christ ——

Whereas we have sufficient testimony to thy learning, knowledge, prudence, moderation, and probity of morals, for receiving sacramental confession, both of regulars and seculars of either sex within this our patriarchal diocese of Jerusalem, as well as in the whole island of Cyprus, committed to our pastoral care—By virtue of these presents we do institute and deliver to thee the faculty of absolving from all and any sins, except only in those cases which are reserved out of Italy to the Supreme Pontiff, and those to which excommunciation is annexed by the Supreme Pontiff: also those which by common law are reserved to ourselves, together with those which in the Lord we have decreed to be reserved. Moreover, in case of urgent necessity, or imminent peril of death, it will be permitted to thee to receive, by an interpreter, the confessions of persons in any language whatsoever. But if an interpreter cannot be had, or if the penitents may not consent to make use of one; yet if the tokens of penitence be evident, we desire thee to impart to them absolution. Only beware lest by absolving the unworthy, thou shouldst suffer to fall into the snares of the devil, those whom in this Holy Land our Divine Saviour has redeemed with his precious blood.

To be valid from now till ——

Given at Jerusalem, in the Patriarchal Palace, this —— day of ——, in the year ——.

Ship's Patent for Terra Santa.

(Translation.)

JOSEPH VALERGA,

By Divine compassion and Grace of the Apostolical See, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, &c., &c.

To our beloved in Christ ——
Master of the Ship named ——
Salutation in the Lord.

So great has ever been the desire of the Apostolical See and of the Catholic Church for the defence and preservation of these most holy places of the redemption of mankind, that she has always deigned to reward munificently with divers kinds of spiritual graces, and also with manifold favours of temporal benefit, those who may show themselves in any way meritorious towards this Church of Jerusalem and its venerable monuments.

Among such evidences of the Apostolical solicitude she has permitted to be given to Masters of Ships who may endeavour, whether by piety chiefly, or by their largesses, to promote the increase of Catholic devotion in this Holy Land, the use of that illustrious and singular token, the Jerusalem flag, which she desires to have maintained as a custom all over the world, in order to provide for the necessities of the Holy places, and particularly of the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The exercise of which faculty was formerly committed to the Religious Superiors for the time being of Terra Santa, as carrying on the Vicariate of the Church of Jerusalem; but is now by the Providence of His Holiness, our lord Pius IX., Father of his country, decreed to be transferred to this His Patriarchal diocese: its pastor being restored.

We therefore whom the favour of Divine Grace has raised to that Patriarchal office, having knowledge from manifold testimony of thy Catholic faith, thy probity of morals and thy devotion towards these most holy monuments of our salvation,

as well as of the bounty of thy benefits bestowed, do benignantly consent to thy request, and by the tenor of these presents, and with sacred authority do grant that upon thy ship named ——, thou mayest raise the illustrious flag of Terra Santa, with its five red crosses upon a white field (the royal ensign of this Holy Land, bedewed with the most precious blood of Jesus Christ), and under the same freely to sail and to prosper.

On condition that so long as thou mayest journey under this flag, thou shalt convey all Minorite monks of the observance of St. Francis, or others ministering in the Church of Jerusalem who may be furnished with our testimonials for travelling *gratis*, and without payment, in respect of thy obedience and piety for these Holy places.

And we beseech all and singular persons of every grade and condition, whether endued with Imperial or Royal Majesty, or conspicuous in any other eminence of dignity, in the name of their devotion and for the increase of their power, that these letters may everywhere obtain similar effect.

We do also exhort earnestly all commanders of naval fleets and fortifications, as well as governors of ports and cities, to suffer no injury to befall thee, thy property or thy companions; but that they may deign to respect and defend thee, adorned as thou art with the life-giving ensign.

For the more secure obtaining of this, we have had delivered to thee these letters, signed with our hand and guarded by our great Seal.

Given in Jerusalem, at the Patriarchal Palace, this —— day of ——, in the year ——.

CHAPTER III.

SECULAR REPRESENTATIVES OF LATIN AND GREEK CHRISTIANITY IN JERUSALEM.

The French 'Protectors of Christianity in the East'—Treaty of King Francis I.—Roman Catholic Christianity protected—Terra Santa Convents—Their Archives—French Consul in State at the Sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem—Invasion of Syria by Napoleon Buonaparte—His adoption of Moslem formula—Sir Sidney Smith in 1801 Protector of Christians—Portion of his Flagstaff on roof of Latin Convent in Jerusalem—Richard Cœur de Lion at Acre—Prince Edward of England at Nazareth—Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Salisbury at the taking of Acre in 1191—French tricolor flag over Carmel Convent—Turks regard the French as the leading Roman Catholic Power—Treaties—Guizot—Latin Patriarch—Curious Firmâns in the Latin Convent—Franks, &c.—French—Feelings of the Monks—French visitors and pilgrims—Preparations for receiving the Pope—Greek Catholic Patriarch—Sir John Chardin on French negotiations in Constantinople—French Consul M. P. E. Botta, of Nineveh celebrity—Russian Protectorate of Eastern (Greek and Armenian) Christians—M. Basili, Russian Consul-General—Russian travellers—Russian Sailors in English Church—Promise by Turkey that Russia should have a Church and Hospice at Jerusalem—Archimandrite Porphyrios—Russian contributions to Greek Convent—Purchase of Lands by Greek Convent.

We now arrive at the subject of French protection of Christianity in the East.

King Francis I. in the sixteenth century incurred a good deal of temporary odium throughout the realms of Christendom for having made a treaty with the infidel Turks; that, too, at a time when these were a real source of danger on our frontiers. He was the first to do such a thing, and the fact was the more surprising as the

French had always given themselves out as the peculiarly crusading nation—the first to begin, and the last to leave off those enterprises. King Francis might be the eldest son of the Church; but in the opinion of his adversaries, only very indifferent to religion, either personal or national; and his alternate indulgences, few though they were, or persecutions of the Protestants, were supposed to be crowned by this treaty with Sultan Sulimân.

It was, however, at first but a mere convention of commerce that he entered into; yet it was followed up by political engagements, and the fellow-kings of Europe very soon imitated his example, acting prudently for their own benefit. The Turks, indeed, were not the infidel people against whom the old crusaders had been launched; they were but successors in holding the territory, no matter how acquired, therefore not bearing the same animus for or against Christendom as the Saracens before them. Masters, however, of regions of unbounded commercial resources, a trading intercourse with them was well worth having.

But this treaty laid a foundation also for long future events. Among the pompous titles of honour in which Orientals are accustomed to indulge, they designated the French monarch as the 'Protector of Christianity,' with perhaps no more sincerity of meaning than when now-a-days a Pashà addresses any individual Consul in the superscription of a letter as the 'glory of the sect of Christ, and pillar of the community of Jesus.' This appears to be the case from the circumstance of their having sometimes applied the same title to the Austrians in their treaties. The French being the first Power to treat

with the Porte, the latter gave this flattering title at random; besides, it was a personal epithet, not a national one. The French politicians, however, perceived the advantage possible to be worked out from sustaining such a designation, and have insisted upon its being inserted in all treaties made with the Porte since that commencement. The Austrians failed to secure the same or similar advantages; indeed, it is likely that their frequent vicissitudes of hostility with France on the one hand, or with Turkey on the other, hardly admitted a policy which should add to the seeds of strife an uncertain controversy about religious claims.

The form of Christianity which came beneath the ægis of France was, of course, the Roman Catholic: and the mode of affording protection to it has been chiefly that of defending the persons and properties of the monasteries in the Levant, through the ministry of the Embassy at Constantinople; later institutions of a religious character, such as sisterhoods of charity, hospitals and schools, enjoy also that ready protection, and the coasting vessels chartered under the Terra Santa flag are superintended by the French Consulates.

The convent archives throughout Turkey are rich in Firmâns and other documents obtained on their behalf by French intervention at the Porte.

In modern times the special services at the Sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem are attended by the French Consul in full uniform, with a large train of officials, who has a gilded chair of state appropriated to him, a precedence to which no other Consul is entitled; and for the midnight mass of Christmas at Bethlehem that Consul

is furnished by the Pashà with a considerable force of regular infantry in the Church, the expense for which, as well as for other demonstrations, which tell so much upon Orientals, is liberally afforded by the central government in Paris, regardless of the jealous heartburnings of the other Roman Catholic Consuls. Such was still the state of things when the writer left Jerusalem in 1863.

Such activity and display is the more remarkable in contrast to a different position of France in Palestine, which is even yet within the memory of man, when Buonaparte was master of Egypt and invader of Syria. At that time England was the true Protectress of Christianity there, while French proclamations and official letters were headed with the formula, 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God,' and a letter to Sultan Selim in referring to past periods stated that such and such events had occurred 'while the French nation had been of the religion of Christ.'

It was in 1801, after the French had been expelled from Egypt and Syria, that Commodore Sir Sidney Smith marched his marines from the coast into Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with drums beating and colours flying, to post that flag, which he did, over the Latin convents of those towns; and a remnant of that flagstaff against the wall of the Terra Santa convent in Jerusalem was lately visible, perhaps still is so. This movement was a necessary one for ensuring safety to the Latin Christians, who, being before regarded as French *protégés*, might have fallen victims to popular resentment. Who was Protector of Christianity then at the Holy Places?

Moreover, to shift the scene, the native Christians in

the north preserve a tradition of the low hill, half a mile distant from the walls of Acre, by calling it *Cœur-de-Lion*, in memory of him who performed more personal service, and remained longer as the paynim's adversary, than did the French King Philip Augustus.

And, again, in the Latin convent at Nazareth the friars profess to show the very apartment occupied by Prince Edward of England, after his consort, Eleanor of Castille, had sucked the poison from the wound inflicted by the assassin,[1] she who, on leaving England for the expedition, had publicly said, 'There is as near a way to heaven from Syria as from England or Spain' (Wykes, p. 88).

What says our Shakspeare of our countrymen, but that they were

> Renownèd for their deeds as far from home,
> For Christian service and true chivalry,
> As is the Sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
> Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son.
>
> *Richard II.*, Act ii. Sc. 1.

The valour and the sacrifices of England in the Holy Land, according to the estimation set upon the crusading cause at that era—not only as seen in the leadership of our kings with their feudal nobles, but the sanction of

[1] A.D. 1271. 'Onely Prince Edward having passed that winter in Sicilie with the first part of the next Spring set forward again on his voyage, and in fifteene dayes after arrived with his fleet at Ptolemais, when, after he had by the space of a moneth rested himselfe and his souldiers after their long travell, and fully inquired of the state of the country, hee with six or seven thousand souldiers marching from Ptolemais, about twentie miles into the lande, took Nazareth, and put to the sword all them he found therein, and so againe returned. After whome the enemies following in hope to have taken him at some aduantage, he understanding thereof turned back upon them, and killing a greate number of them, put the rest to flight.' 'The generall Historie of the Turkes,' &c., by Richard Knolles. London: 1603.

our prelates (for at the taking of Acre, in 1191, there were present the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Salisbury) ought not to be forgotten by either the French or the English nations.

Times are now changed—the French tricolor flaunts broadly over the Carmel Convent; the Terra Santa flag has its licences countersigned and pays its fees into the French Consulates of Jaffa, Bayroot and Cyprus; while in church ceremonials at the most holy places, as before mentioned, the other Roman Catholic Consuls are obliged to endure publicly the marks of inferiority, because their governments permit it. Even the Spaniard must be silent, though representing the 'Most Catholic' of kingdoms. Also the Austrian, although his sovereign claims by descent, as from one of the rival competitors, the kingship of Jerusalem. And so long as the Sardinian Consulate existed there—for it terminated in 1849—that Consul urged the same pretension with a still clearer title of descent from the crusading kings, not in words only, but on some state occasions he wore, besides his regular national uniform, a separate one as representative of the King of Jerusalem.

The Turks undoubtedly recognise the French as the leading Roman Catholic power—at least they are not in a condition to deny the kind of hegemony which the remaining kingdoms of Europe do not for themselves dispute.

Chateaubriand points out a series of treaties and firmâns upon which France grounds her Protectorate, and expresses his joy on finding recorded in the archives of Terra Santa the numerous evidences of French action on behalf of convents in the Holy Land.

Guizot, himself a Protestant, while in the Foreign Office, urged the style and offices of the Protectorate upon the Porte in the fullest form. And among minor instances of patriotic sensitiveness on that head, it may be cited that on the first erection of the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem, the 'Semeur,' a thoroughly Protestant journal, gave vent to its share in the national indignation by proclaiming the unique prerogative of France to be Protectress of Christianity in the East.[1]

During the tedious negotiations intended to ward off the Russian War of 1853, this claim was never discussed at Constantinople by the side of that of the Russians—the Turks pronounced that the cases were not parallel. The result, however, of that war has produced, in reference to both these rivalries, whether alike or unlike, a sharper definition than before of the inalienable rights of the Sultan over his own subjects, whatever may be their religious creed.

In a conversation in the year 1849 between the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and the writer of these observations, the former was descanting on the number and variety of Hatti-Shereefs, Firmâns, &c., in curious dialects and formalities, ranging over many centuries, which are preserved in the Terra Santa convent (one of them, he said, given by a Soldan of the Saracens), and he stated that in some of these, anterior to the Crusades, the Europeans generally are denominated 'Franks'—a fact, if there be no mistake in the matter, which the modern French regard with excessive satisfaction, as a naming of

[1] See note at the end of this chapter.

all Christendom after them, and thus implying that the Christian religion is emphatically the French religion.

In the course of this work we shall find several instances of this subject rising to the surface of current events, happily not involving any anxiety on behalf of Protestantism, which stands on its own ground; but to whatever extent Roman Catholic Christianity in general may be indebted to the French for protection in Turkey, even the convents feel that protection to be an uncomfortable yoke. I remember a Franciscan friar, an Italian, expressing himself indignantly on that subject, for he said—'We were never dependant upon France for protection between our original settlement here in 1226 and the French treaty of Francis I. We never asked the French to protect us. We had, indeed, a king for our patron in the fourteenth century, but he was an Italian, Robert of Sicily, who, with his consort, purchased the land for us on which we built—not to mention the previous Latin kings of Jerusalem, and others of Europe, who have been our friends and guardians. And as for Consulates here, why the French were only followers of the English in Jerusalem.'

During the existence of the Sardinian Consulate, the monks were naturally to be found frequenting that house, constituting, in fact, the majority of Signor ——'s society, for the enjoyment of national community in sentiment and taste, greatly in preference to the French Consulate. Afterwards, on the establishment of Austrian and Spanish Consulates, the monks clustered round these rather than the French. But still it is hardly reasonable or grateful for the convents to forget the long-continued favours

bestowed on them by the French. Throughout all the extent that is designated as Holy Land, they have been under the greatest obligations to that power. There can be no doubt that there would be more reciprocity of friendship between them if more certain reliance could be placed on the Christian character of the French nation.

The personages of importance on the Latin side who had visited Jerusalem, during the years immediately preceding the Crimean War, had been but few. Of course, there were always a good many Latin pilgrims at Easter, and the Latin Church was strongly represented by the convents, by the Latin Patriarchate, and by the Latin Consulates.

There had been one French expedition, that of M. de Saulcy and his friends; and two or three French ships of war sent up their officers, but not the crews, to visit Jerusalem. A few Italians had visited Jerusalem, and the Austrian Consul was active in promoting the interests of Austrian Roman Catholics, which were not always identical with those of the French Roman Catholics. He had for some time past been looking out for a house capable of being improved for accommodation of the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna.

Rumours had been circulated of the possibility of the Pope visiting the Holy Sepulchre. During his involuntary exile from Rome in 1848, the idea had been put forth that Jerusalem might be desirable as the seat of Papal dominion, and this idea still seemed present to the minds of some of those who desired to restore the prestige of the Western Church.

Whatever might be the plans and wishes cherished on

this subject, no active steps were taken for the transference of the Popedom, or for the immediate revival of the Latin kingdom.

The nations were not at one among themselves, and the defence of the Sanctuaries against all encroachment on the part of the Eastern Church and Russia was the one point now especially watched by Frank defenders of the Faith.

The Greek Catholic Patriarch from Damascus had spent some time in Jerusalem, where there is a settlement of his people. These, of course, sided in most points with the Latin party.

It may be interesting to peruse the following extract from Sir John Chardin's Travels 'into Persia and y^e^ East Indies, through the Black Sea and the country of Colchis.' Being in Constantinople during the action of some busy negotiations of the French there in 1670, he says,—

'The Ambassador's demands were comprehended under thirty Articles, of which these were the chief.

'First—That the *Grand Signior* should not entertain within his Dominions any European Nations except what were already settl'd there, but under the French Banners: and that particularly the *Italians*, except the *Venetians* and *Genoeses*, that should come into *Turkey*, should be obliged to put themselves under the Banner of *France* and the Protection of that King's Ambassador.

(This Privilege was granted by the Turks to the French in the Capitulations made in the reign of Francis the First, and the French enjoy'd 'em till the Beginning of this Age: at what Time by reason of certain Pyrates that cruis'd upon the Coast of Egypt under French Colours, the Port struck out that article in a new Agreement then concluded.

Afterwards the Article was restored and the same Privilege granted a second Time in these Words:—

'*All nations of Europe that do not maintain Publick Agents at the Port, nor are in Alliance and Confederacy with the Grand Signior, which shall come into the Levant under French Colours, shall be there receiv'd and entertain'd and enjoy the same Advantages as the French do.*'

But the Turks refuse to acknowledge these latter Capitulations, and therefore making use of the former they alledge moreover that the Words [shall come] are not exclusive; and, therefore, though the Port be obliged to receive all Strangers that shall come under French Colours, yet they do not debar the Grand Signior to entertain Strangers, if it be his Pleasure, that come under other Colours.)

'Secondly—That the French shall not pay above Three in the Hundred Customs, which is no more than the *English*, *Hollanders*, and *Genoeses* do.

'Thirdly—That the *Grand Signior* shall grant Free Liberty to the French to traffick to the *Indies* through his Dominions and Territories: more especially through the Channel of the *Red Sea*, without paying any other Duties than those of Entraye.

'Fourthly—That the *Grand Signior* shall restore to the Religious Orders of the Roman Catholicks the Holy Land, and the *Holy Places* from whence they were expell'd by the Greeks, in the year 1638.

'Fifthly—That the *King of France* shall be acknowledg'd at the Port the Sole Protector of the Christians.

'Sixthly—That all the Roman Catholic Christians that live within the Dominions of the Ottoman Empire, shall be look'd upon and consider'd as under the Protection of His Majesty.

'Seventhly—That the French Capuchins that live at Constantinople, may have Liberty to rebuild their Church at Galata which was burnt down about Fifteen years ago.

'Eighthly—That all the Churches of the Roman Christians within the Ottoman Empire, may for the future be repair'd or rebuilt as often as need shall require, without being put to the trouble of asking Leave.

'Ninthly—That all the French Slaves shall be set at Liberty.

'The other Proposals were of less Importance in particular, only their Number made them considerable—but the *Port* look'd upon these Demands to be so extravagant, nay, so ridiculous, that the Prime Ministers believ'd, or else pretended to believe, that the King sought only an Occasion to break with his Highness.'

Then follows the history of negotiations between the Franciscan monks and the French Government, which led to the insertion of the above Article 4—the vehement reclamations of the monks—the bribery tendered—the requests of Venice, Spain, and Rome that the French king should of his 'pious zeal' carry out this measure; until at length the king instructed his Ambassador at Constantinople to insert that among the conditions of the new treaty, and the Ambassador assured the monks that he had instructions not to treat at all with the Turks without that Article of stipulation.

After long delay, the Ambassador, finding that the Grand Signior and the Vizier were ready to depart for Poland, and no treaty was concluded, went to the Reis Katib (Chancellor), and in three conferences concocted the treaty.

Articles 2, 3, and 7 were agreed to, only that to the latter was added, 'together with the Jesuits in the same place, and all other Appurtenances belonging to the *French* within the Ottoman Empire, should be under the Protection of the King.'

Also, Article 9, with the proviso that 'they were not taken in any Fleets or Armies, or before any places in Hostility with the Port.'

The matter of the French protection of Christianity

was reduced to this,—'That the Ambassador should be acknowledg'd Protector of the Hospital of the *European* Christians in Galata, and that they should have Liberty to say Mass in the said Hospital.'

The important article concerning foreign nations was altogether passed by—it was to remain as before in the former treaty.

On his return home the Ambassador repented, and sent his Dragoman to say that, unless the stipulation about foreign nations was made as he had asked, he would break off altogether; after which he went himself and pressed it. The Reis Katib referred it to the Vizier, and the latter sent back an absolute refusal in these words—'Seeing you have not kept your word with him, he recalls his own, and will grant you nothing at all.'

'This answer,' continues Sir John, 'was like a Thunderclap.—*M. de Nointel* and those that were with him stood like men in a Trance. They begg'd to resume and ratifie the Treaty: but it was quite impossible, though they proffer'd upon the Place to quit and renounce the Article contested. To which the Chancellor answer'd, that he had no other Orders from the *Vizier* then to deliver his Message, and that he had no Power to treat any further.

'The Ambassador reply'd, that he had a letter from the *Prime Minister of France*, which he desir'd only to deliver into his Hands, and so to take his Leave. The Chancellor made Answer that for his Audience it might be easily obtain'd, but as for the Letter from the *Prime Minister of France*, the *Grand Vizier* car'd not a straw to look upon it.

'Monsieur de Nointel, returning to his Lodging with that Vexation and Perplexity of Mind which may be conceiv'd without any great Difficulty, propounded to his Council, which were the Abbot his brother, the Director of the *Levant Company*, and his Two chief Interpreters, that since the *English* and

Hollanders had lately given *Ten Thousand* Pounds Sterling a-piece for renewing their last Capitulations, it would be convenient for the *French* to give the same money for the renewing of Theirs. Upon which the two Interpreters had Orders to propose the Sum to the Chief Ministers: but it nothing avail'd, for there are some Favours obtain'd at the *Port* by the Force of Money; others which no Money will procure. And such for Example was the Business sollicited by the Two *Commissaries* of the *Holy* Land, who offer'd a *Hundred Thousand* Crowns to the Grand Vizier to put 'em in Possession of the *Sacred Places*, and to expend as much in Presents to the *Grand Signior* and Ministers of the *Port*. But their Money was Dross, the Divân not being to be brib'd in that Case.

'In a few days more the Vizier was leaving for Poland. M. de Nointel went early in the morning to the Camp, but the Vizier was gone to convey the Sultan's Mother to her first lodging. The Ambassador waited seven hours with the Chancellor. The Vizier came, but would not see him; he only promised to talk with the Interpreter.

'And this was the success of M. de Nointel's second Journey to the *Port*, upon which both Parties made different Reflexions. For the *Turks* with great *Assurance* lay the Blame of this Rupture upon the *French*.'

In the above narrative it is not possible to separate the matter of French protection in Turkey from that of the monks at the Holy places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem; neither is it possible to do so at the present period, seeing that without the convents and the meagre number of native Roman Catholics, kept together by means of their propagandism, the French would have but few or no Christians to protect. But it is noteworthy how high a tone the Turks at that time were able to maintain on that subject. According to this writer, they looked upon all the Latin monks as mere foreigners, while the Oriental

Christians (*i.e.* Greeks, Armenians, &c.) were properly regarded as the Grand Signior's subjects, who were paying him 'a yearly tribute of 800,000 crowns,' and therefore had the first claim upon his concessions.

The Russians were out of consideration at that era.

It is not necessary to trace down the stream of history through all the stages which French protection has passed since the reign of Louis XIV.—it must have been very monotonous—but it does seem amusing to catch a glimpse of the method and aims of French diplomacy at Constantinople nearly two hundred years ago, as showing how, under much disadvantage, they were vigilant, as, indeed, they still are, to uphold the ascendancy accorded to them under Francis I., merely because that king was the only one making a Commercial Treaty with the Ottomans at a certain moment of time. It is a fact that at that date the French king stepped forward as the *Primus* of the Christian name in Europe for taking notice of Latin Christianity in the Ottoman dominions. We may, therefore, regard him as something more than a protector. He was *the* protector among the Turks for the time.

For the extravagant claims of French protection over the Maronites, see Documents of Louis XIV. and XV. quoted in 'Churchill's Lebanon,' vol. iii., p. 94, under dates of 1649 and 1737.

NOTE.

Chronological Summary of the various Hatti Shereefs (Imperial Decrees) granted by the Sultan in favour of the Greeks, from the year 15 of the Hegira (636 of the Christian era) up to the present time, concerning the right of possession and

other privileges granted to the Greeks regarding the Holy Places at Jerusalem.

1. Hegira 15. A.D. 636.—Hazret Omar Hatap (ʿ Omar el Khattâb), the conqueror of Jerusalem under the Patriarchate of Sophronius, issued an Artnamé, by virtue of which the Holy Sepulchre and its dependencies were placed under the control of the Greek Patriarch, and the other rites and religions made subject to him in this respect, so that complete immunity was accorded to the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre.

2. Hegira 862. A.D. 1458.—The Sultan Mehemet, after the conquest of Constantinople, under the Patriarchate of Athanasius, when that Patriarch came to do homage to the Sultan, issued a Hatti Shereef which confirmed the Greeks in all their rights of possession and immunities in regard to the Holy Places previously granted.

3. Hegira 933. A.D. 1527.—The Sultan Suleiman, the Canuni, under the Patriarchate of Germain, also issued a confirmatory Hatti Shereef.

4. Sefer 1044. A.D. 1634. Djem-Evel 1047. A.D. 1637.—The Sultan Murat IV., under the Patriarchate of Theophane, issued two Hatti Shereefs, one against the Armenians, and the other against the Papists, when the latter endeavoured to expel the Greeks from certain holy places of which they formerly had possession, and after this act of aggression had been adjudicated on at Constantinople.

5. Sefer 1054. A.D. 1644.—The Sultan Ibrahim renewed the Hatti Shereef of his predecessor against the Papists, and annulled all the reformatory acts previously issued in their favour.

6. Rebia ul Evel 1067. A.D. 1658. Muharrum 1068. A.D. 1659.—The Sultan Mehemet IV., in consequence of a formal judgment which took place at Constantinople, issued two Hatti Shereefs, by which all the absurd pretensions of the Armenians were put aside, and their encroachments strictly prohibited.

7. Rejib 1086. A.D. 1677. Zil Hadji 1088. A.D. 1679.—This same Sultan, under the Patriarch Dossithée, in consequence of a new judgment which was given between the Greeks and

the Papists, issued two other Hatti Shereefs, by which the rights of the former having been fully recognised, all the preceding ordinances issued against the papists were confirmed anew.

8. Djemâdi ul Âkhir 1099. A.D. 1687.—The Sultan Suleiman II., in consequence of a fresh dispute which had arisen and had been decided under the Patriarchate of Meletus, renewed the same Hatti Shereefs above mentioned.

9. Zilcâdy 1171. (?)—The Sultan Mustafa renewed the Hatti Shereefs of his predecessor.

10. The Sultan Selim, under the Patriarchate of Anthimos, issued two Hatti Shereefs against the pretensions of the Armenians.

11. The Sultan Mahhmood on his accession issued two Hatti Shereefs, one concerning the Papists, and the other the Armenians, by which he confirmed all the Hatti Shereefs previously granted by his predecessors in favour of the Greeks.

12. When the Holy Sepulchre was burnt down, in 1808, by a special Hatti Shereef the rebuilding of the edifice was by right (as of right) accorded to the Greeks.

13. Still later the Armenians having advanced pretensions, a Hatti Shereef ordered an inquiry to be made into them.

14. Under the Patriarchate of Polycarpe, when the Papists expelled the Greeks by force from the Holy Sepulchre, in order to prevent their celebrating divine service there, and were guilty of more than one aggression against them—the Sultan Mahhmood granted three Hatti Shereefs one after the other in favour of the Greeks, concerning the free exercise of their Liturgy under the dome itself of the Holy Sepulchre.

15. Lastly, when the Armenians, by means of wiles and intrigues, succeeded in obtaining authority to proceed to repair the Church of the Resurrection (Holy Sepulchre), of the Holy Bethlehem and of the Mount of Olives, a Hatti Shereef annulled the authorisation above mentioned, and accorded to the Greeks exclusively the right of making general repairs.

16. His Imperial Majesty, Abdul Majeed, issued four Hatti Shereefs to renew the four Hatti Shereefs undermentioned; viz.,

1. The Hatti Shereef (No. 11) concerning the Papists.
2. (No. 13) concerning the Armenians.
3. (No. 14) concerning the Liturgy of the Greeks.
4. (No. 15) concerning the repairs.

Condition of the Sanctuaries possessed exclusively by the Latins in 1740.

At Jerusalem.

1. The Holy Sepulchre, that is to say the grand cupola, called the leaden cupola, and the small cupola situated under the larger one, and covering the tomb itself. The entire court which surrounds the tomb and the circular space between the pillars of the dome and the wall, now occupied by the Greeks after the fire (of 1808).

2. The grand arch which separates the Greek Church from the dome, and which serves for the choir for the Latins when they perform their ceremonies before the tomb.

3. The stone of unction and the court which surrounds it, as far as the door of the church and the chamber now occupied by the Greeks.

4. The southern half of Calvary, that on which our Saviour was crucified; the four interior arches which compose Adam's chapel, in front of which are the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and of Baudouin, destroyed in 1811; as well as five other royal tombs situated at the foot of the wall of the Greek choir; the chamber at the side of Adam's chapel.

5. The grotto of the invention of the Holy Cross and of the staircase leading to it.

6. The entire court and the altar of the Church of the Magdalene, the seven contiguous arches called the arches of the Virgin—below as well as above—and the chapel called the prison chapel.

7. The small church situated at the side of that of the Magdalene; the convent of the Latin monks, with half of the gallery of the great cupola; the adjoining chambers, the cistern, the gallery above the seven arches of the Virgin and a covered passage leading to the cupola.

8. The Chapel called the Holy Virgin's, outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the south of Calvary, and the entire space before the door of the Church.

9. The convent of the Holy Saviour (San Salvadore) with the places appertaining to it—the church, gardens, &c.

Outside Jerusalem.

10. The cemetery of Mount Sion.

11. The tomb of the Holy Virgin with the altars of St. Joseph, St. Joachim, St. Anne. The keys of the church were in the hands of the Latins, who had the exclusive custody of them. Other nations (sects or churches), nevertheless, had each an altar in the church, but they could not perform service at them without the permission of the Latins, and the tomb of the Holy Virgin itself was exclusively reserved for the latter.

12. The grotto of Gethsemane with the olive trees and the adjoining grounds.

13. The grand church of Bethlehem altogether, excepting the Baptistery; the grotto of the Manger and the two staircases which lead to it. The Latin monks alone possessed the three keys, one of the door of the church, and the other two for each of the side doors of the grotto. Masters of the church, they could freely enter and there perform all the ceremonies of their religion at the high altar of the church, as well as at the two altars situated in the grotto—that of the Nativity, and that of the manger. A silver star bearing a Latin inscription was fastened on the Marble, on the spot where our Saviour was born. A piece of tapestry bearing the arms of the Holy Land, and belonging to the Latins, covered the walls of the grotto. The Latin monks possessed besides at Bethlehem the square before the church, the entire cemetery and the buildings known as those of the old mill.

14. The convent situated by the side of the grand church of Bethlehem, with the small church of St. Catherine, and all the grounds which extend as far as the Grotto of the Nativity, and in which are the Sanctuaries of St. Joseph, the Holy Innocents, of St. Eusebius, of Saints Paula and Eustachia, of

St. Jerome, of the adjoining garden, and of another garden situated near the grotto, called the Grotto of Milk.

15. The Grotto of the Shepherds, and the grounds which surround it.

16. The Church of St. John the Baptist in the village of Ainkarem, with the convent and the garden.

17. The spot where the Holy Virgin visited St. Elizabeth, near the village of St. John (Ainkarem), and the Grotto of St. John in the desert.

Sanctuaries possessed by the Latins in common with other nations in 1740.

1. The half of Calvary which properly belongs to the Greeks, that on which the cross was placed. The Latins possessed, and still possess, the right of having a ceremony there on Holy Thursday.

2. The Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, on this understanding that the other nations (Churches) should each have an altar there, and perform their ceremonies there with the permission and under the surveillance of the Latin monks.

Sanctuaries and Possessions from which the Latins are now altogether excluded.

At Jerusalem.

1. The seven arches of the Virgin and the chapel of the prison.

2. The two interior arches of Calvary, the chapel in front and the chamber which is by the side. The tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and of Baudouin have been destroyed.

3. A portion of the court surrounding the stone of unction, that part where the other tombs were which have been destroyed, the Greeks having pushed forward the wall in order to enlarge their church. The chamber on the right has likewise been taken possession of by the Greeks.

4. The space situated between the pillars of the cupola

and between the pillars of the wall which the Greeks have filled up by building chambers there. They have likewise usurped about four 'pics' (ells) of space under the great arch by pushing forward, in order to enlarge their church, the wall which separated it from the cupola (*Rotunda*).

Outside Jerusalem.

5. The entire church which encloses the tomb of the Holy Virgin and the garden by the side of it. The Latins can no longer perform their ceremonies there—nor even enter without permission of the Greeks, who have the keys.

6. The grand Church of Bethlehem altogether—the two staircases which lead to the grotto—the altar of the Nativity in that grotto. The silver star has been carried off. There no longer remains anything but a few tatters of the tapestry belonging to the Latin monks. The three keys are at the present time in the hands of the Greeks.

7. The half of the two gardens of the convent at Bethlehem.

8. The place and the stone known as that of the Old Mill.

9. The Grotto of the Shepherds and the surrounding grounds.

Sanctuaries belonging, in 1740, *exclusively to the Latins in the enjoyment of which other nations* (*Churches*) *now participate.*

1. The Holy Sepulchre and the court which surrounds it under the grand cupola.

2. The stone of Unction.

3. The Grotto of the Manger at Bethlehem. The Greeks and the Armenians perform their ceremonies there at the altar of the Nativity, and the Latins at the altar of the Manger.[1]

[1] The above statement was evidently drawn up on the Latin side, before the restoration of the silver star, and before the settlement of the question of the Holy Places.—Ed.

Secular Representatives of the Latin and Greek interests in Jerusalem.

Ten years before the Crimean War broke out—in 1843—the French had established a consulate in Jerusalem, and their Consul became the visible representative and embodiment of the French Protectorate of Christianity.

An attempt was made to hoist the French flag over the consulate; but this aroused the jealousy and fanaticism of the Moslem inhabitants, who rose and tore down the flag, trailing it in the streets.

This affair led to the removal of the Consul then in office (the first of his nation appointed to Jerusalem), who was succeeded by M. Helouis-Jorelle. The affair of the silver star had shown the French Government the necessity for having an active man, thoroughly able to carry out their policy in so important a post.

The third French Consul was M. Botta.

Paul Emile Botta, an old friend of the Patriarch, arrived in Jerusalem soon after him, as Consul of France. He was the son of Carlo Botta, the Italian historian, who had been considered a personal friend of Napoleon I. The Consul had been in early life employed by the French Government in botanical researches in both the Americas, in Arabia, and other countries; he had also served as surgeon in an English merchant-ship on a voyage to India; he then became Vice-consul at Mosul, at the same time with the residence there of the missionary, now Patriarch, Valerga; and there he acquired just celebrity by his Nineveh explorations at Khorsabad, shortly before the excavations of Layard were commenced at

Kuynujik. He was a man of literary tastes and amiable disposition, having a good acquaintance with the English language and literature; and most pleasant reminiscences still remain to me of seeing him busy over his proof sheets of the great work on his Assyrian discoveries; or of walking with him in his garden among the choice flowers obtained from Europe and elsewhere.

In religious concerns he advocated the Ultramontane principles and a strenuous defence of the Jesuit Society—in direct antithesis, therefore, to the habits of his father.

With this earnest temperament, Botta appeared suddenly on the scene of the Convent disputes about the Sanctuaries, and into those heats he threw himself with a glow of his own, acting, no doubt, in accordance with the desire of the new Government in Paris, for in the question of the Holy Places, the Patriarch, Botta and his Foreign Office were all of one mind, and maintained constant communication beyond the range of common consular topics.

M. Botta's rival in courage and political talent upon the orthodox side, and a proficient in all the qualities which Western nations are accustomed to attribute to the Czar's official agents, was M. Basili, the Russian Consul-General, stationed at Beyroot (who has since been Russian Minister in Greece), who only occasionally visited Jerusalem, but by means of his correspondents within the Greek convent there, was able to work effectively at a distance.

These two were equally pitted against each other for the antagonism peculiar to Palestine. The Russians also laid claim to a Protectorate over the Eastern Christians

which, they maintained, had been in some sort recognised and admitted by the Ottoman Government.

The Russian Minister at the Porte mentioned to Sir Stratford Canning that they intended to appeal to the Treaty of Kainardji in 1774, for authorisation of the Russian Protection over the Orthodox Christians in the Turkish Empire.

I am not aware that he demanded the same on behalf of the Armenians, who are numerous in the eastern provinces—but, in fact, in dealing with Pashàs far remote, Russia does exercise a sort of Protectorate over the Armenians, in virtue of the head of their Church being now a Russian subject at Utchmiazin.

If the French had their political representative in the Consul of France, M. Botta; the Russians had theirs in M. Basili.

It was remarked that from the period of the Silver-star agitation in 1847, and forward, the number of Russian visitors to Jerusalem had increased. This was only natural, and their influx was not checked by an unfounded rumour, in 1849, that Russia had declared war against Turkey, and that a combined French and English fleet was on its way to Constantinople.

Several of these Russian visitors were interesting men, well known out of their own country. Among these was the Chancellor Mouravieff, a man of studious and devout turn of mind, well versed in literature and ecclesiastical history, including that of our own Church of England. He was personally acquainted with several of the English clergy, one of whom, the chaplain at Cronstadt, had made a translation of his History of the Russian Church. He

stayed some months at Jerusalem making researches into ecclesiastical antiquities in the vicinity. The name of Mouravieff had not at that time acquired the notoriety which afterwards became associated with it elsewhere, in connection with another member of the family. No reminiscences could be more agreeable than those which this gentleman left after him. The Prince A. de Lieven was also with us at the same time. He showed me in a Greek Smyrniote newspaper the news that the 'Piræus' of Athens was blockaded by an English squadron, and that the British Minister had been withdrawn from Athens.

We had a succession of Russian visitors of distinction —princes, admirals, military officers, diplomatists, chamberlains of the Emperor, whom we had the pleasure of welcoming at the British Consulate, as well as personages of many other nationalities. But the foreign visitors of eminence during this period were mostly Russians— who would naturally report to the State Departments of their own country what might be useful of the varied information which they so easily acquired by reason of their free access to all classes of society wherever they went.

During the three years preceding the outbreak of the Crimean War, we had also some half-dozen visits of crews from Russian ships of war arriving at Jaffa. They generally came up to Jerusalem in bodies of thirty or forty at a time, for while the ships lay at anchor the crews were sent up in successive detachments. These men are trained to military as well as naval service. They marched in a uniform of white, with black polished belts,

and carrying side-arms; they entered the City in parade order, having dressed up the file upon the Meidân (Public Place), before their reaching the gate.

An unexpected incident occurred with regard to some of these men. It is well known that real Russians are no amateurs of a seafaring life; consequently a large proportion of their marine consists of natives from the northern shores of the Baltic. A corps of these seamen being Finlanders and Lutheran Protestants, more or less conversant with the German language, applied at our Protestant church for the privilege of receiving the Holy Communion in Jerusalem. This was gladly conceded, and the men knelt in their uniforms at the rails of the Communion Table, in Christ Church, with the most serious devotion. Each one at his departure was presented with a German or a Russian New Testament from the Bible repository near the church. I am not sure that Finnish was to be had at that time, for such an event had not been expected.

One thing must not be forgotten, which is that before the final rupture with Turkey in 1853, Russia had obtained from Reshid Pasha a promise that permission should be given to build at Jerusalem a Russian church and hospital and hospice for monks of that nation. The fulfilment of that promise was claimed after the peace in 1856. How the Russians have availed themselves of it let any traveller testify who has visited the Holy City, and has seen the Russian possessions on the space formerly occupied by the Maidan, or public promenade, where the Turkish troops assembled in 1853 before departing to the war, as described in the opening chapter, p. 3.

Hitherto the Russians had appointed no Consul for Jerusalem, and the Russian Consul-General at Beyroot looked after the civil and political interests of the Russians, having a Jewish Rabbi under his orders in Jerusalem, and a Russian vice-consul in Jaffa. But in March 1853, when the European consuls went to offer congratulations to their Austrian colleague on the Emperor's preservation from assassination, they met there the Russian Archimandrite Porphyrios, a gentleman of very polished and affable manners, composed in speech, precise in dress. The cross suspended on his breast by a large gold chain contained twelve of the largest rubies I had ever seen. This dignitary had come to superintend the religious affairs of his nation, and to look after the pilgrims, and a house was put into order for his residence. The first ecclesiastic despatched for this purpose to Jerusalem came from Russia about 1848, to the intense disgust of the Greek local ecclesiastics, the patriarch, the metropolitan, and his fellow-bishops. Previously the Russian Empire had been accustomed to forward a yearly subsidy of funds to the Holy City, partly as a contribution to the honour of the Sanctuaries, and partly for maintenance of the national pilgrims. At one time this amounted to 8,000*l.* annually. Among other resources for making up this fund, the army and navy were assessed in one day's pay of each year. In return for this the ecclesiastics of Jerusalem allowed access to the sacred localities and divine offices, with residence in a small convent out of the many they (the Greeks) possessed within the walls.

At length the Imperial Government conceived that a time was come for themselves to manage Russian affairs,

especially in the money matters, besides providing instruction for their poor people in their native language. The Greek or Arabic used in the Church services at Jerusalem were unintelligible to the Russians, and yielded but poor satisfaction to those who had shown their devotion by a pilgrimage of above a thousand miles. I knew an instance of a Russian nobleman (Baron Olsofieff) feeling so deeply grieved at that state of things, and at seeing the crowds of his fellow-countrymen attending services of which they could understand not a word, that he went to the Protestant English Bible store and bought a Russian New Testament. The use he made of it was to collect around him every morning, during the several weeks of his sojourn, the ignorant yet devoutly inclined pilgrims, and read to them portions of the sacred volume for their instruction—a step which the clergy and monks of the local orthodox establishment regarded with astonishment.

The Greek authorities were extremely angry at the Russian inspection of accounts alluded to above, which they considered a reflection cast upon their probity, and tending to lower the prestige of their absolute supremacy in the eyes of the natives. The Russians, however, attended but little to such scruples, and proceeded vigorously to their task.

The Greek convent authorities, however, had set themselves to supply any deficiency of income that might arise to them by purchasing land in or near Jerusalem, and cultivating the ground for profit wherever that was likely to be advantageous. This they were able to do, because some of the members of the convents were natives

of islands in the Archipelago, and therefore Turkish subjects, able legally to buy and hold landed property. Monks of the Greek Church may hold property during life, but at death their convent is the heir to whatever they may have possessed.[1]

[1] The Greek monk most active in the planting and cultivating of land acquired near Jerusalem, was one named Nikephory—who had within the last five years planted many thousand mulberry trees—besides vines and olives. Of late he had been fencing in these plantations, and had built miles of the dry-stone walls used here instead of hedges or other fence. The burly figure and jovial face of Nikephory were familiar to all the residents in Jerusalem. It was pleasant to see him out in the open air directing the peasantry who worked under him, and to reflect that the result of this expenditure of money and labour must be of the greatest benefit to the city and to the inhabitants.

CHAPTER IV.

OTHER EUROPEAN CONSULATES IN JERUSALEM.

British Consulate, the first founded in 1838—France and Russia founded theirs in 1843—Austrian in 1849—Sardinian Consulate—Spanish in 1854—Protection of Anglican Bishopric by English and Prussian Consuls—M. Pizzamano Austrian Consul—Dr. Schultz, first Prussian Consul—Succeeded by Dr. G. Rosen—Prussian Congregation and Institutions—Commercial and Political Consulates—Legal functions of Consuls—Various people protected by the several Consulates—The 'Capitulations'—Rank and precedence of Consuls—Vice-Consuls and Cancellières—Interpreters '*dragomans*'—Their position—Kawwâses or Janissaries—Editor's Note—Mr. Finn, the British Consul—The various peoples within the territory over which the Consulate extended—People protected—Amount of business transacted—Consulate House.

Of these Consulates in 1853 there were four in Jerusalem. The earliest established was the British, during the Egyptian *régime* in 1838. Mr. W. Young was the first British consul. France and Prussia came in 1843, and the latest was the Austrian, which commenced in 1849. One had previously existed, founded in 1843, the Sardinian, but it was superseded in the same year as the Austrian was established. A Spanish Consulate was founded in 1854.

The two Protestant Consulates, those of England and Prussia, had no share in the altercations about the Holy Places and the Silver Star, and aimed at no kind of protection over Christian subjects of the Sultan, even though they should adopt the denomination of Protestants. Our relations with the local government were restricted to

protection of the persons and property of fellow-countrymen. The Prussian Consulate had at that time but few subjects and but small affairs to superintend; while the English had its own subjects of both residents and travellers, besides Maltese, Indians, Canadians, and other British colonists, with the Ionians as a 'protected' people, also a number of protected Jews, together with the considerable property of a church, a hospital, various schools, and a cemetery to be watched over.

The English and Prussian Consulates had moreover the joint task of upholding the Protestant (Anglican) bishopric in relation to the Turkish Government, although the person and family of the bishop, being naturalised English subjects, claimed as such the offices of the British Consulate. The bishopric was purely English, according to the terms of the original foundation, but the King of Prussia had the alternate nomination, subject to the veto of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The European Consuls at Jerusalem were all men of good standing, and natives of the countries which they severally represented.

The French Consul has been already described. By this time the Sardinian Consulate had been given up. The Austrian Consul was M. Pizzamano, a Venetian, formerly an officer in the 'Guarda nobile;' a practised man of the world, of easy manners in society, and good-tempered. He sang well, having a charming voice. M. Pizzamano was confident that no nation could match the Austrians in diplomacy, a science in which they had long been unrivalled.

In political ideas it was natural that the two German

Consuls should have much in common, and that in an opposite direction from the views of France and England. But it was always clearly understood that Prussia sympathised less than Austria with Turkey in the Russian difficulty.[1]

[1] Kinglake has well stated the position of Austria in respect to this war, 'The power most exposed to harm from Russian encroachments upon European Turkey was Austria; for it was plain that, if her great neighbour of the North were to extend his empire in the direction of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, and so come windward round her south-eastern frontier, she would be brought into grievous danger . . . . . Thus upon Austria, before all other powers there, attached the care of guarding against encroachments on the European provinces of the Sultan, and the cogency of this duty towards herself, towards Germany and towards Europe herself, Austria has always acknowledged.' ('Invasion of the Crimea,' vol. i.)

He has also clearly defined the influences which swayed the action of Prussia:—

'Over the councils of Prussia, at this time, the Court of St. Petersburg had a dangerous ascendancy, but by his actual station as a leading member of the Confederation, and by his hopes of attaining to a still higher authority in Germany, the King was forced into accord with Austria upon all questions which touched the freedom of the Lower Danube, and it was certain that he would do all that he safely could to discourage schemes for the disturbance of the Ottoman Empire. Still he lived in awe of the Emperor Nicholas, and it was hard to say beforehand what course he would take if he should be called upon to choose between defection and war.'

The war of 1854 was undertaken by France and England with the immediate object of forcing Russia to abandon the Danubian Principalities; but the impulse which they obeyed was generated by a conviction which had long possessed Western Europe, that the aggressive policy, the arrogant demeanour and the perpetual intrigues of the Czar Nicholas were an insult and danger to the whole European community.

To this general consent of European opinion there was a remarkable exception. Though the German people, particularly in the south, were against Russia, whose cold and heavy hand they felt upon them—the Prussian Court, with its military and official aristocracy, were understood to have no friendly feeling for the allies. They denied the justice of the war, echoing the Russian assertion that the Western Powers were supporting Mohammedanism against Christianity; they did not conceal their pleasure at the trials of our armies, they predicted their defeat, and were thoroughly disappointed at the issue of the war. Several causes united to produce this state of feeling. One was the close relations between the reigning families of St. Peters-

The Prussian Consul in Jerusalem who at this time (1853) had just succeeded my friend Dr. Gustav E. Schultz, was Dr. G. Rosen, a native of Lippe-Detmold, near Hanover, who had been Oriental interpreter to his Embassy in Constantinople, and enjoyed a considerable reputation for Oriental learning. It was said that he had reduced even the Circassian language to something of grammatical form.[1] He was a student in the thorough-going German sense of the term, of varied reading, and having an immense accumulation of knowledge on languages and literary subjects.

burg and Berlin. Another was the weak scrupulosity of the late King of Prussia, who would not bring himself to break even diplomatically with an old ally; another was the general similarity between the Russian and the then existing Prussian systems of government and political doctrine, which gave the two states a strong fellow-feeling.

But we believe the strongest of all to have been the deep-rooted jealousy of France which has possessed the Prussians ever since the days of Jena, which has been nourished continually by the boasts and threats of the French on the subject of the Rhine frontier. ('Times,' November 14, 1870.)

'We were told by Count Bernstorff that Prussia was neutral in the Crimean war, benevolently inclined towards Russia.' (Duke of Cleveland's speech quoted 'Times,' November 23, 1870.)

[1] The following extract from Mendelssohn's 'Lettres inédites, traduites par Rolland,' refers to the brother of Dr. G. Rosen. The family of Moschelles was brought into close connection by the subsequent marriage of the Prussian Consul, G. Rosen, with Madlle. S. Moschelles.

Lettre LVIII., Londres, Avril 27, 1832.

Je dois rendre visite à une foule de gens que je n'ai pas encore vus, tandis qu'avec Klingemann, Rosen * et Moschelles nous nous sommes déjà remis sur l'ancien pied, comme si nous ne nous étions pas quittés.

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* Rosen (Frédéric Auguste), célèbre orientaliste, né le 2 Septembre 1805, à Hanovre. Il étudia le Sanscrit sous Bopp et en 1827 il publia ses *Radices sanscritæ*. Il fut appelé à Londres par les fondateurs de la nouvelle *Université de Londres* pour y enseigner les langues orientales. (The Editor adds that he was appointed in 1853 to the Jerusalem Consulate, but he mistakes him for his brother, G. Rosen.)

There were at this time resident in Jerusalem twenty-one adult Germans, Protestants of various nations, who belonged to the Prussian congregation, and who were cared for by the Prussian Consul. A hospice for travellers had been founded, and also a hospital and school (for people of all creeds) under one of the Prussian deaconesses of Kaiserswerth.

At the latter institution a pleasant festival was annually held on the anniversary of the foundation, where all the friends of the deaconesses and the members of both the English and German congregations used to assemble for 'a happy meeting conducted with simplicity.'

In establishing consulates all over the world, a line of distinction seems to have been purposely drawn by the European Powers to include or exclude national profession of Christianity on the part of those nations to whom the Consuls were sent. Hence it is that we have Consuls *with judicial functions* by means of capitulations in Moslem countries and in China; while in Christian countries they have no such functions, all persons alike submitting to the laws of the land in which they happen to live. Thus in Turkey and in China, as in Morocco, the European nations have political as well as commercial Consulates. Foreigners residing in these countries have, according to treaty, the right of being governed by their own laws—administered by their own officers; they are not amenable to the laws of those lands unless when in collision with the natives of those lands.

The Consuls are, therefore, in those countries invested with powers to administer the laws of those nations which they severally represent. All Europeans are only

amenable to their own national codes, administered by their own Consuls; and in a mixed jurisdiction case of European and Ottoman parties, the Consul, or his deputy for him, has the important right of witnessing the proceedings, of cross-examining witnesses, of arresting the action even before decision, when dissatisfied with the mode of procedure, and finally of protesting against the sentence given, in order to appeal higher.

Thus a cause between two British subjects would be brought before the British Consul, and not before any Turkish authority, and it would be decided according to British law. But if a British subject had any claim against a Turkish subject, or the subject of any other nation, he would present it in the Turkish Court, or in the proper Consulate through his own Consul, who would protect his interests and claim for him the full benefit of the laws of Turkey, or whatever might be the country to which the defendant belonged. And if a British subject had committed any serious crime, as murder, which rendered him amenable to the law of Turkey, he could only be tried in the Turkish Court in presence of his own Consul, whose assent would be required before sentence could be carried out.

Political Consuls are not allowed to engage in trade. A Consul of this description is the official representative of his countrymen, and protector of all their interests. He is, moreover, Judge of the Consular Court, in which all causes between British subjects are tried, and also all minor charges made against British subjects by one of any other nation. The rule in all mixed cases is that a cause shall be tried in the tribunal of the nation to which the defendant belongs, so as to give him the full benefit

of the laws of his own country; while the prosecution is carried on with the help of the Consul of the plaintiff, whom the Consul is bound to advise and inform on all points necessary for his advantage. The discountenancing of litigation and promoting of friendly arbitration are also among the duties of a British Consul.

The Turkish Government permitted European residents or travellers, when unrepresented by Consuls of their own nation, to place themselves for the time of residence under the protection of any European Consul they might choose, and who would accept the charge; generally such affairs ran in grooves, modified by circumstances; thus the Austrian Consulate had for its appendix, by authority from home, the supervision of Belgian business, by reason of the family connection of those two crowns; and the French in like manner acted for all the states of Italy at the request of the latter, besides having the general office of Protection of all the Christianity that was Roman; while the Christianity of Russia, Greece, and the Protestant countries simply declined to avail itself of the French protectorate under any *régime*, Orleanist, Republican, or Imperial, and dealt with the Ottoman ruler each on its several behalf.

With respect to Germany, its people distributed themselves mostly according to the belongings of the 'Zollverein,' which, again, almost always coincided with the established religion of their States (Hanover being an exception); the Protestants registering themselves with the Prussians, and the Roman Catholics with the Austrians. Danes, Swedes, Dutch, and some Tuscan Jews, as also Americans, usually had recourse to the British Consulate.

The territorial extent of the several Consular juris-

dictions at Jerusalem was the same as that of the Pashalic —only the English one embraced the whole of Palestine, from Egypt to the Lebanon.

And whereas the original idea of the establishment of Consulates in Turkey was a development of Embassies, with a view to protection of mercantile interests, it was only by means of having dependant agencies at the ports that the office of Consul could have been fairly recognised in Jerusalem. Once instituted, it became easy to engraft upon that office other duties, as was in fact done with advantage to the country represented and the country which allowed them.

The Consuls act under authority of treaties made at sundry times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which, when collected together, are denominated 'the Capitulations.'

In our days the Turks are impatient of tolerating these Capitulations, which, they contend, were suited to earlier times, and a different range of action. Being now admitted to the comity of European nations, they expect to be placed on the same footing with these in every point. But we must not suffer ourselves to ignore the fact that the official morals of Turkish governors are not yet so far improved, upon those of former days, as to admit of removing British lives and property-interests from the ægis of their own national laws and responsible administration, and leaving them to the corruption of Mohammedan pashàs and kadis.[1]

[1] It does not appear necessary to discuss here the subject of abrogating the Turkish capitulations, on the ground of their being documents which have outlived their time, and being no longer suitable to the civilisation and

The rank of the Consuls had been defined to be equal with that of the Turkish Governor, or Pashà—so that disputes about the proper etiquette might be avoided—and British Consuls were not allowed to ride out to meet and receive a new Pashà on his arrival, lest their doing so should be construed into an admission of his being in any sense subordinate to the Pashà, or under his jurisdiction. But when a new Pashà (or Consul) arrived, it was customary for the Consulates to send their Vice-Consuls, Cancellières, dragomans, and kawwasses out of the city to meet and welcome him—and form part of the procession which escorted him into the city. Due notice was therefore always given of the approach of the new officer. The Consul who had lived longest in the city was regarded as senior by the rest, who gave him precedence as 'Doyen;' the others followed according to their seniority. As to the precedence of British Consuls in regard to their own countrymen, that was settled by regulation: 'Consuls rank with, but *after*, Captains, R.N., or Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels; but *before* Commanders, R.N., or Majors in the Army.' The regula-

commerce of our age. The corrupt practice of Turkish Courts and favouritism of the authorities, on which from experience I feel strongly, are sufficient to demand still the continuance of some strong guarantees for protection of Europeans.

This, however, I may assert, that the abuses and irregularities in Consular action, of which we read occasionally in newspaper correspondence and in reports of Parliamentary debates, were almost unknown to us in Jerusalem. It was an established rule never transgressed, that in mixed cases, whether of our subjects with Turkish subjects, or with European foreigners, the matters at issue were judged and sentenced in the Court of the Defendant—there was no confusion at all about it. And as for unfair protection of Turkish subjects by the Consulates, I believe that existed to but a small extent, and more in the sea ports than with us. It was never known at all in the British service.

tions also provided that Consuls should be entitled to salutes from British men-of-war, to the number of seven guns, and Consuls-General to nine.

To most of the Consulates were attached gentlemen holding the rank of Cancellière, or of Vice-Consul, and also interpreters (called dragomans). The former were generally natives of the country represented by the Consulate itself; the latter were almost of necessity natives of Turkey, because English and other foreign gentlemen could not be found able to speak, read, and write the Oriental languages, Turkish and Arabic, necessary for the transaction of business. Perhaps it should rather be said that funds were not at disposal of the various Consuls to enable them to pay adequate salaries to gentlemen competent to perform the duties required of Consular dragomans. These duties were often very delicate, and it was essential to secure gentlemen in whom confidence could be placed. Sometimes natives educated partly in Europe were employed. The other European Consulates were enabled to secure the attachment of their interpreters by a more liberal system of treatment than that adopted under the English system.

Dragomans who faithfully served the Consulate to which they were attached, were obliged to break with their own Government, and for this there was no reward attainable, even after many years of ill-paid service. There was neither pension nor status conferred, so that a dragoman, after having served during the best years of his life, and having incurred hostility in proportion to the fidelity and zeal of his service, was at last liable to be set adrift, to begin life over again and be exposed to ill-will

which he need never have incurred, unless he had subordinated his own personal interests to those of the nation whose temporary employé he had been. As already said, other European nations managed these things better than we did.

Each Consulate had attached to it several men called Janissaries or Kawwâses (Bow-men), *i.e.* entitled to carry arms. These were necessarily Moslems, because they were intended both as body-guard and recognised gens-d'armes and police. It was necessary that they should have the right of using arms, though in our time they were used for show rather than for use, and that they should be recognised as Moslems, who could, if necessary, be useful in dealing with Moslems who might be aggressive in attack. They might safely strike or lay hands on an unruly Moslem, or arrest him if a thief, which a Christian could not have done without provoking a riot, if not worse.

These men were provided with silver-headed staves of office, which they carried when on official business, or when escorting the Consul himself in town or country. They preceded the Consul. In the bazaars people usually rose up to salute a Consul as he passed by, and sentinels on duty presented arms. At sea, it was customary for steamers on nearing port to hoist the flag of the nation to which any Consul on board belonged. Sometimes two Kawwâses were barely sufficient for the business of the consulate; at other times four, five, or more, were necessary.

One of my Kawwâses had been a captain of the Camel Commissariat to Ibrahim Pashà's army. He was grave,

silent, faithful as steel, and brave beyond question, as on several occasions I had reason to know. Another was a townsman from the north of Syria, who had served in the Army of Egypt under Mohammed Ali against the Wahabees, whom he held in abhorrence. He used to say that in battle a good Moslem ought to present his piece at the enemy—then shut his eyes and fire, and God sends the bullet where He wills. This is in warfare, where of course there is no personal enmity. Both of these men were Hajjis, having performed the Mecca pilgrimage. The latter was somewhat bigoted; but they both executed all the business which I entrusted to them, without making any difference to the disadvantage of Christians. Both these men were ready at all times and willing to mount and go anywhere—in any weather, sun or rain, wind or snow, at a moment's notice; and I rarely, if ever, had to complain of the least departure from the orders I had given them to carry out.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The author has described the various Consulates and the machinery by which they were carried on. I may be permitted to add a few words descriptive of himself.

Mr. Kinglake, in describing Lord Raglan, declares that the best way of enabling men to arrive at an estimate of a man's character is to give 'honest samples of what he said and what he wrote, of his manner of commanding men and maintaining an alliance' . . . to 'show how he comported himself in times of heavy trial.' He argues that in this way 'his true nature, with its strength and with its human failings, will be so far brought to light, that I may be dispensed from the need of striving to portray it; and, contenting myself with speaking of some of the mere outward and visible signs which showed upon

the surface, may leave it to his countrymen to ascend, by the knowledge of what he did, to the knowledge of what he was.' (Kinglake's 'Invasion of the Crimea.')

In editing and compiling this 'History of the Holy Land during the Crimean War,' partly written by my husband and partly sketched out by him in copious notes ready to be put together, I have felt that there is contained in the history much which illustrates the life and character of my husband himself, during this important period of his eighteen years' career as Her Majesty's Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine. There are still some living who remember the time within which the events occurred, and who were then in the Holy Land. They will be reminded, as they read these pages, of him who wrote them, of his frank truthfulness—his unfailing kindness to all who were in sorrow or distress—of the quiet courage[1] that shrank from no duty, however dangerous it might be, that dealt firmly with criminals of the most desperate character, obtaining their arrest and punishment without regard to anything they or their gang of evil-doers might attempt. They will recollect how he went fearlessly about by day or by night in the city or in the country—alone if necessary—how he acted promptly without bluster—never wavered or went back from his word; and shrank from no fatigue if there was business to be done—how he rode from Nazareth to Jerusalem in two days—from Tiberias in a day and a half when his presence was necessary—from Hebron to Jerusalem in a little more than two hours, when the depositions were to be taken of a poor Jew who was supposed to be dying—or to Gaza in a day from Jerusalem for the comfort of the frightened Christians who were in dread of a Moslem rising—ready in all weathers, pouring rain, or snow, or the heat of the Dead Sea plain at the end of August, if some British subject needed his help, or British interest needed to be strengthened!

[1] 'That which more than all else in the world takes hold of the Oriental mind,' says Kinglake, 'is strength held in reserve.' To the Orientals at least, with whom he had to do, Mr. Finn's quiet manner conveyed the impression of 'strength held in reserve.' They and others used to say they could not bear the steadfast gaze of his eye.

. There are still some left who will fill in the portrait of which this History cannot fail to suggest some outlines to those who knew the author as the patient, kind, and just British Consul, who, amid many discouragements and trials, strove to do his duty, and to carry out the policy of England as laid down by the instructions given him, and interpreted by the actions of his superiors, Colonel Rose (Lord Strathnairn) in the Lebanon, Sir Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) at Constantinople, and Lord Palmerston in London.

Within the British Consulate of Jerusalem and Palestine were three independent Pashalics—those of Jerusalem, Acre, and Saida (Sidon); the Pasha of the latter district resided at Beyroot. It extended in those days from the frontiers of Egypt to the confines of the Beyroot Consulate in the Lebanon, and from the Mediterranean Sea as far eastwards as British travellers might be found in need of aid or protection.

The various peoples within the territory over which the Consulate extended were Turks, Arabs, Jews, Fellahheen (peasantry), Samaritans, Druses, Maronites, Ansaireyeh, Syrians, Kurds, Gipsies, Turkomans, all natives of the land.

Besides these were representative communities of Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Negro and other African races, Persians, Tartars, Greeks, Indians, and all the great European nations. Pilgrims came from all these and from the smaller nations—Bulgarians, Wallachians, Circassians, Afghans. Sometimes even Chinese came, and an increasing number of European and American travellers arrived year by year.

There were the religious communities of all the Christian Churches, native and foreign, eastern and western,—the Shiah Moslems among the Metawilah in the north, Jews of all kinds, including Karaites.

And some of almost all these found their way to the British Consulate, for one reason or another.

Those whom the British Consul of Jerusalem was bound to protect were, first, all English-born British subjects, whether from Great Britain, India, the colonies, or Malta, whether residents or travellers between the boundaries of Egypt and the

Lebanon, south to Petra, or as far eastwards beyond Jordan as British travellers chose to venture. Then, the protégés, as Ionian islanders (before the cession of the Islands), Russian Jews transferred to British care, and Europeans who, having no other Consul, chose the British Consul as their own for the time being. The British Consul was also instructed to use his friendly offices on behalf of the Samaritans, Abyssinians, and all Jews in distress.

With all the business of this extensive Consulate to transact, it was not possible to have the assistance of either Secretary, Cancellière, or Vice-Consul during these years, 1853–6. Mr. E. T. Rogers had formerly been Mr. Finn's Cancellière, but was now appointed Vice-Consul in Caiffa. He happened to be in Jerusalem, and was therefore sent to attend the Pashà at Hebron in 1853, and again to bring the Rev. S. Lyde from Nabloos after the riot. But in the business of the Consulate there was no assistant but the Arab and Jewish interpreters for their own special department. The Consul's salary (till 1861) was nominally 550*l.*, with 150*l.* for official allowance. The 550*l.* was reduced by double (war) income tax, superannuation tax, etc., nearly 100*l.*, leaving only 450*l.*, out of which to supplement the 150*l.* which was wholly insufficient for pay of interpreters—Kawwâsses, official fees on stated occasions to Orientals, besides the keep of a horse, stationery, and other expenses inseparable from the duties of office. It may be imagined that after deduction of all these there was not much left for maintenance and education of family, and nothing at all for salary of Secretary and Cancellière. So that the British Consul alone of all the Consuls in Jerusalem had to do the work of his office single-handed. The despatches for 1853–6 to London, Beyroot, and Constantinople, were in number 761. There were office registers to be minutely kept and accounts. There were the weekly letters to the agents at Jaffa, Caiffa, Acre, Tyre, and Sidon. There were all the documents and letters referring to cases brought before the Consular court, or in other Consulates, or the Turkish courts and the Pashà, with innumerable travellers' applications and letters.

The public office work by day, and all this mass of writing chiefly by night,—What health or strength could endure the strain of all this labour, anxiety, and responsibility during seventeen years of unbroken work in harness?

The British Consulate House.

The Turkish Government, after Syria had been restored to them, were induced by the representations of interested parties to stop the building of the English church, begun on Mount Zion during the days of the Egyptian occupation of the country under Mehemet Ali.

The London Jews Society, to whom the funds for building the Church were entrusted, then applied to the British Government, and in 1845 Sir Stratford Canning obtained a Firmân authorising the building to be continued as a Consular Chapel.

Plans were therefore drawn out for the British Consulate, which was to be at the entrance of the square of buildings intended to surround the Church, and the Consul was requested to occupy as soon as possible a house, to be built first, adjoining the Church, intended as the parsonage, and to use it as the temporary Consulate until the real one could be built. This proposal was accepted in order that the building of the Church might be no longer delayed.

But the British Consulate never was built at all.

The parsonage-house was occupied by the Consul till 1857, when it was given up by request of the Committee of the Jews Society, who represented to the Government that in the altered state of affairs since the publication of the Sultan's Edicts of Toleration, there would be no longer any need for Christ Church to be regarded as a Consular Chapel.

The parsonage was ill adapted for a Consulate, having in all only six rooms besides the underground kitchen, &c. The three bedrooms allowed of no accommodation for domestic servants. The two principal sitting rooms, thrown into one, afforded only tolerable accommodation for the Consul's business and receptions, and the family had but one small room, ten feet

by twelve, for all purposes. There was no accommodation for officials—whether Secretary, Cancellière, Dragomans, or even Kawwâsses.

The other European residents had domestic servants in their houses. The English Bishop and the foreign Consuls had room for their official Kawwâsses. No one but the British Consul and his family were thus left without room for the most necessary attendance by night, or even any waiting room for Kawwâsses and the numerous applicants on business of every kind, for shelter by day from sun in summer, and rain and snow in winter.

During the last few months a small office near at hand was repaired and let to the Consul *for rent* by the kindness of the Lay Secretary to the mission.[1]

In order to complete our picture of the condition of affairs in the Holy Land during the Crimean war, several other classes of people must be described—the Jews, native and foreign, and the Protestants, native and foreign.

Lastly, it will be necessary to give some account of the governors of the country, the Turks, and of the nature of their hold upon the province, and of the machinery by which it was maintained: also of the general Moslem population all over the country. To these subjects the succeeding chapters shall be devoted.

[1] The late Mr. James Graham.

CHAPTER V.

POSITION OF JEWS IN PALESTINE—PERSECUTION—ENGLISH PROTECTION OF JEWS—TRANSFER OF RUSSIAN JEWS.

Position of Jews in Palestine—Four holy Cities: Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed—*Sephardim*, or Spanish Jews—'First in Zion,' *i. e.* Chief Rabbi—His Council or Beth-din—Synagogues—*Ashkenazim*, or European Jews from Germany, Russia, &c.—Lord Palmerston's protection of Jews in Palestine, 1839—Blood-persecution in Damascus, 1840—Further action of Lord Palmerston, 1841—Threatened persecution in 1847 by the Greek Christians—Scene in the Pashà's Court—Action of British Consul—Jews excluded from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Transfer of Russian Jews to British protection—Special fasts observed by the Jews—Visit of Sir M. Montefiore—Jewish coinage—Anointing of the Keys of Jerusalem by the Jews—Dues paid to Moslems—Wailing place—Rachel's Sepulchre—Place of Slaughtering—Employment of Jews at Industrial Plantation and Urtas—Industrial plans of Sir M. Montefiore—Rothschild and the 'Hebrew Alliance'—System of *Shilichuth*, or Messengers—Attachment of Israelites to the Holy Land—*Chalúka*, or distribution of Alms—Hebrew language living still—Used in the British Consulate—Hebron and Safed Jews—Excellent moral character of the Jews—Translation of Address from Russian Jews.

During Hadrian's reign the final revolt of the Jews took place, under the False Messiah Bar Cochab, and the nation was then fully expelled from the Land of Promise. A few returned to Jerusalem after the Moslem conquest; but the Jews were never fully tolerated till after Saladdin had overthrown the Crusading kingdom, and finally established Moslem rule. After this period Jews gradually crept back to the Holy City.

At the period of this history (1853–6), there were about 10,000 Jews in Jerusalem. The modern Jews

within their ancient land cannot fail to present an interesting field for contemplation.

In 1853 the Hebrew population was, as now, almost entirely congregated within their four holy cities :—Jerusalem, sacred to them on account of the Temple and its sacrifices; Hebron, on account of Machpelah, in which are laid the three Patriarchs and their wives, excepting Rachel; Tiberias and Safed, as cradles of the Talmud and homes of venerated Rabbis of ancient generations.

The people are to be classed as—

1. The *Orientals*, called 'Sephardim,' who are almost exclusively subjects of Turkey, and speak Spanish in their family intercourse, being mainly descendants of the refugees from Spain and Portugal, when banished thence in the fifteenth century: their very dialect of the Spanish language is antique in its peculiarities. These people are but few in Safed and Tiberias; but in Jerusalem and Hebron are more numerous. In Jerusalem they more than double the number of other Jews, and are regarded by the Turkish authorities as *the* Jews *par excellence*. Their representative to the government is styled the 'Chacham Bashi' in Turkish, but among his own people he enjoys the honoured appellation of 'First in Zion.'[1] His secretary is also recognised as a public officer, having a seat in the Common Council of the city. This Chief Rabbi administered civil and religious law under penalties of fine, imprisonment, and bastinado, to the extent allowed by the Pentateuch. He is assisted by a council of seven Rabbis, called the 'Seven Seals,' each of whom is a judge in an inferior court of his own. Besides these,

[1] ראשון לציון of Isaiah xli. 27, without the Italics of our English version.

there are officials in sufficient variety among themselves, superintending different departments of administration.

The Chief Rabbi and his council affect the outward forms of supremacy in dealing with Rabbis or synagogues of foreign countries, based on the text of Isaiah ii. 3: 'For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem;' but in the present state of the Hebrew nation, the Rabbis of other lands concede to him no pre-eminence in authority. The chief at Amsterdam or Wilna considers himself no more bound to submit to the chief at Jerusalem than he would be to the chief of Paris or London, notwithstanding that a certain degree of sanctity and deference would anywhere be attributed to the ruler of the people in the Holy City—at least such was the case till of late years.

In times gone by these native Jews had their full share of suffering from the general tyrannical conduct of the Moslems, and, having no resources for maintenance in the Holy Land, they were sustained, though barely, by contributions from synagogues all over the world. This mode of supply being understood by the Moslems, they were subjected to exactions and plunder on its account from generation to generation (individuals among them, however, holding occasionally lucrative offices for a time). This oppression proved one of the causes which have entailed on the community a frightful incubus of debt, the payment of interest on which is a heavy charge upon the income derived from abroad.

In Jerusalem their synagogues are four, and all collected under one roof, so that they may pass from each into the others, and they are but meanly furnished. They

are named—1. The Great; 2. The Medium; 3. The Talmud Torah; 4. The Stambouli. The people believe the first of these to have remained undisturbed since the fall of the second Temple.

Such is the outward framework of their society. The small community of Arabic-speaking Morocco Jews of similar origin with these are subject to the Sultan.

2. There is a distinct community of Jews called the 'Ashkenâzim,' who are an aggregate of various religious sections. They are mostly natives of Germany, Russia, and the Danubian principalities; their common language is in substance German, but modified by Russian, Polish, or Wallachian, according to their native places. As subjects of European Powers, they are, equally with Christians from the same respective countries, placed under consular protection and magistrature, according to the capitulations with the Porte. Their children, though born in Palestine, retain the nationality of the parents. These, however, are not numerous, and the Ashkenaz population is kept up by fresh arrivals from abroad of persons in old age, who come for the privilege of dying and being buried in holy ground. Each sect of the Ashkenâzim (Perushim, Chabâd, Anshé Hod, &c.) is independent of the rest, and has its separate 'House of Judgment' and synagogue. The Chorbah synagogue of the Perushim, recently restored from a ruin of ancient date, is believed to have existed from the days of Rabbi Judah han-Nasi, the compiler of the Talmud Mishnah.

Upon the internal government of both divisions of Judaism, in the Holy Land, with all its abuses of irresponsible Rabbinical domination, the observations that

might be made do not seem to belong to the character of this work. They are well understood—alas! too well—in the country itself; and the Israelites of Europe, who are aware of the same, while despairing of a remedy, have little desire to see the evils divulged, as they are fearful of the foundations of Rabbinism itself becoming consequently undermined.

Until the English Consulate was established in Jerusalem, there was, of course, no other jurisprudence in the country than that of the old-fashioned corruption and self-will of the Mohammedans, and for many ages but very few (often none) of the European Jews ventured to make an abode in Palestine. A man is now[1] living, who, as a child, was brought there by his father on a venture, as there was then no Ashkenaz congregation in Jerusalem—the father just made up the *minyan*, or number of ten, required by Jewish canon law to form a congregation for public worship. According to our ideas it is scarcely praiseworthy, in the 'Sephardim,' that they have always placed obstacles in the way of European Jews forming settlements together with them in the Holy Land, declaring to the Turkish authorities that there are difficulties in the way of recognising these people as genuine Israelites, and much of that feeling still remains, as I have reason to know; indeed, it is upon this ground that the 'Sephardim' hold their monopoly from the government for legal slaughtering of animals for food to be used by all the Jews in Jerusalem.

The Egyptian Government, with its rigour and rough-handed justice, afforded much relief to all non-Moslem

[1] In 1872.

inhabitants of Jerusalem; and the institution of consulates in the Holy City proved a further blessing to non-Turkish subjects of all religions, but especially to the poor oppressed Israelites.

In 1839, Lord Palmerston's direction to his first Consul in Jerusalem was 'to afford protection to the Jews generally.' The words were simply those, broad and liberal as under the circumstances they ought to be, leaving after events to work out their own modifications. The instruction, however, seemed to bear on its face a recognition that the Jews are a nation by themselves, and that contingencies might possibly arise in which their relations to Mohammedans should become different, though it was impossible to foresee the shape that future transactions might assume on the impending expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria.

Then came the atrocities of Passover, 1840, in Damascus, inflicted on the Jews there for the alleged crime of eating or drinking the blood of the Capuchin Friar, Thomas—cruelties and murders that were hounded on by the French Consul, Eugène Boré—and this was during the Egyptian régime. In the summer of that year the Jewish deputation from Europe, consisting of Montefiore, Crémieux, and Löwe, arrived in Syria for investigation of those deplorable occurrences. A few months later came the bombardment of Acre and restitution of Syria to the Turks. Then our Government at once brought before the consideration of the Porte the condition of Jews already settled, or who might afterwards settle themselves in Palestine.

In April 1841, Lord Palmerston forwarded a circular

to his agents in the Levant and Syria, which began by stating that, as far as documents could avail, the law of Turkey had by that time become all that might reasonably be expected for toleration of the Jews, but that the difficulty remained as to enforcing an honest administration of that law. The Porte, however, had declared its determination that the law should be righteously administered, and had even promised Her Majesty's Ambassador that 'It will attend to any representation which may be made to it by the Embassy, of any act of oppression practised against the Jews.'

The Consul was, therefore, to investigate diligently all cases of oppression exercised upon Jews that might come to his knowledge, and report to the Embassy, and although he might only act *officially* in behalf of persons actually as of right under British protection (by this time there was a French Consul in Jerusalem), the Consul was on every suitable occasion to make known, to the local authorities, that the British Government felt an interest in the welfare of Jews in general, and was anxious that they should be protected from oppression. He was also to make known the offer of the Porte to attend to cases of persecution that might be reported to the Embassy.

Accordingly, in 1842 a bad case was thus represented as occurring at Hebron, on the part of Shaikh Baddo and others.

In 1847 it seemed probable that the Christian pilgrims, instigated by the Greek ecclesiastics, were about to reproduce the horrors enacted at Rhodes and Damascus in 1840.

A Greek pilgrim boy, in a retired street, had thrown a

stone at a poor little Jew boy, and, strange to say, the latter had the courage to retaliate by throwing one in return, which unfortunately hit its mark, and a bleeding ankle was the consequence. It being the season of the year when Jerusalem is always thronged with pilgrims (March), a tumult soon arose, and the direst vengeance was denounced against all Jews indiscriminately, for having stabbed (as they said) an innocent Christian child, with a knife, in order to get his blood, for mixing in their Passover biscuits. The police came up and both parties were taken down to the Seraglio for judgment; there the case was at once discharged as too trivial for notice.

The Convent Clergy, however, three days afterwards, stirred up the matter afresh, exaggerated the state of the wound inflicted, and engaged to prove to the Pashà from their ancient books that Jews are addicted to the above cannibal practice, either for purposes of necromancy, or out of hatred of Christians, on which His Excellency unwisely suffered the charge of assault to be diverted into this different channel, which was one that did not concern him; and he commanded the Jews to answer for themselves on the second day afterwards. In the interval, both Greeks and Armenians went about the streets insulting and menacing the Jews, both men and women, sometimes drawing their hands across the throat, sometimes showing the knives which they generally carry about with them, and, among other instances brought to my notice, was that of a party of six catching hold of the son of the late Chief Rabbi of London (Herschell) and shaking him, elderly man as he was, by the collar, crying

out, 'Ah! Jew, have you got the knives ready for our blood!'

On the day of the Seraglio-hearing, the scene in the Mejlis was a most painful one. The Greek ecclesiastical party came down in great force, and read out of Church historians and controversial writings of old time the direct and frequent accusations levelled against the Jews for using Christian blood in Passover ceremonies. The Moslem dignitaries, being appealed to, stated that in their sacred books such charges against the Jews are to be found indirectly mentioned, and therefore the crime may be inferred as true: it was possible to be true. The Rabbis deputed from the Chief Rabbi, pale and trembling argued from the Old Testament, and all their legal authorities, the utter impossibility of the perpetration of such acts by their people, concluding with an appeal to the Sultan's Firmân of 1841, which declares that thorough search having been made into this matter, both as to Jewish doctrine and practice, the people of Israel were entirely innocent of that crime advanced against them.

On this the Pashà required them to produce the Firmân on the second day afterwards, the intervening day being Friday, the Moslem Sabbath. I then arranged with the Pashà that I should be present at the meeting, and early on Saturday went down to the Seraglio; but earlier still His Excellency was happy (he said) to acquaint me that the Firmân had been produced, and on his asking the accusers and the Effendis in council if they could venture to fly in the face of that document, they had, with all loyalty, pronounced it impossible; he therefore

had disposed of the case by awarding a trifling fine for medical treatment of the wounded ankle.

No other Consul took part in the business, except that the Sardinian assured me in private conversation that there could be no doubt of Jews using Christian blood in the Passover rites whenever they could get it; or at any rate that they did so in the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, the Protestant missionaries to the Jews, during the time of the dispute, offered to the Chief Rabbi their aid by testifying that, whereas they were all learned in Jewish matters, and some of them Jews by birth and education, the charges respecting the use of blood were entirely false. It did not, however, seem necessary to accept their friendly offer. The Pashà doubtless by this time perceived that the case was likely to prove more troublesome than was expected.[1]

In the same year I was again obliged to interfere on behalf of the Jews. Solomon Aglai, a Jew, was on his way to Jaffa by night, accompanied by a Moslem muleteer, and both were robbed and murdered on the highway; both were Turkish subjects, and a considerable stir was made in the matter. A report from some malicious quarter reached the Pashà that the Chief Rabbi had instigated the crime for reasons of his own; in consequence the Jewish official dragoman was seized and imprisoned for some hours till further particulars should come to light. This caused a great panic among the Jews, who implored my help, and considerable excitement among the Moslems. Having satisfied myself that it must be a false accusation, and

[1] The Pashà perceived that the case was being carefully watched by the British Consul, who would report any injustice done to the Jews.—Ed.

aware that it was dangerous to let the idea gain ground that the Jews had had a Moslem murdered, I applied to His Excellency, representing my instructions from home. The charge against the Chief Rabbi was then dropped, and no more was heard of it. The excitement subsided as quickly as it had arisen.

About this time a Jew was set upon by the crowd of fanatic Christian pilgrims, and nearly killed, for having crossed the farthest side of the open square which is in front of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; he, being newly arrived from Europe, was unaware of the city custom which restricts that passage to Christians, who, however, admit the Moslems because they dare not shut them out. Redress was sought through the English Consulate, although the man was a Russian or an Austrian subject, because he had no Consul of his own. I appealed to the Pashà. The Greek ecclesiastics pleaded before him that the passage was not a public thoroughfare, but part of the Sanctuary of Christianity, and only used for transit upon sufferance. They even dared to send me word that they were in possession of an ancient Firmân which fixed the 'Deeyeh,' or blood-fine, to be paid by them if in beating a Jew in that vicinity for trespass they happened to kill him, at the sum of ten paràs, about one half-penny English. However ridiculous or wicked such a message might be, it was nevertheless a duty to report it at Constantinople, with a view to an authoritative contradiction of the statement. As might have been expected, the official reply was that no such document ever existed. Thus that mischievous untruth was silenced, but the incident shows the disposition of the high convent

authorities towards the Jews. It may be that they themselves believed there was such a Firmân: if so, what degree of pity or liberality could one expect from the multitude of brutal pilgrims? The Pashà said that he knew of no such Firmân as that referred to, but that Greeks, Latins, and Armenians, all believed a Jew might be killed with impunity under such circumstances.

In consequence of this and some other circumstances taking place in Jerusalem, another instruction was issued by the Foreign Office, to the effect that whenever any Austrian, French, or other European Jew should be suffering under persecution or injustice, and should be repudiated by his own Consul, the English Consul might take up his case, unless the repudiating Consul, when applied to, should assign some *strong and sufficient reason* for objecting to that action. The spirit herein contained, notwithstanding the establishment since of other Consulates, was in conformity with the rule in 1839 'to afford protection to Jews generally.' The Russian Jews had of late increased considerably in number among us—notwithstanding the stringent laws of that empire for keeping its population at home. Even for leaving the country for brief periods, vexatious formalities and fees had to be submitted to by all classes of Russian subjects, and sureties were required to answer for the reappearance of the travellers in order to satisfy the requisitions of taxes and military conscription, at the date written on the passport; and besides all these conditions when fulfilled, the license to travel abroad was discountenanced rather than encouraged.

All this was felt more keenly by Jews than by other

classes of the Russian population, for they entertained a peculiar horror of the Russian conscription, which entailed violations of their laws for Sabbath and diet, with compulsory attendance at church image-worship. Still, when the wit and determination of a Jew have only to grapple with the venality or obtuseness of Russian officials, obstacles often displace themselves. Jews were smuggled over the frontier, and the numbers repairing to Jerusalem for the inestimable privilege of being buried there became alarming. At length the Imperial Government resolved upon assuming fresh vigour of action within its dominions, and to get rid of the troublesome responsibility involved in looking after people who never meant to return, and whose sureties had no sufficient means for paying up the arrears of the home-taxes; this trouble was all the greater since there was no Russian Consul at Jerusalem.

It was, therefore, determined to set adrift all the Russian Jews then found in Palestine, furnishing them with papers of dismissal, which also allowed them to resort for protection to any European representatives they might think proper to select, but recommending the English Consulate. These papers were written in French and Arabic, and delivered by the Russian Vice-Consul in Jaffa. This was in 1848, at a period of '*entente cordiale*' between England and Russia, and when no cloud had appeared in the sky intimating peril to Turkey.

Only those who have ever known the sentiments of Jews within the Russian dominions can adequately imagine the joy of these emancipated people—they were 'As those that dream,' and they flocked in large numbers

to the English Consulate for protection, though some, on account of family connections or transactions of business, took Austrian or other protection. A register of names, dates, etc., of these *protégés* was duly kept in the consulate, the business of which was consequently much augmented.

As one of the many tokens of gratitude, from the people so benefited, will be found in the Appendix[1] the translation of an address in Hebrew to Her Majesty the Queen, received in Jerusalem in July, 1849. It was a beautiful specimen of penmanship on parchment. The translation, although exact, affords but a feeble idea of the gracefulness of the composition with its Oriental peculiarities.

Early in February, 1853, both the Sephardi and the Ashkenaz Jews observed a special fast, though for different reasons. The Sephardim had received a letter from Salonica stating that a Jew had been murdered by some Christians there, that the Jews had killed those Christians, and that this had been the signal for a general attack upon the Jews. This was the story, and the Chief Rabbi regarded it as sufficient cause for proclamation of a public general fast.

The Ashkenazim had been alarmed by news of a decree of the Emperor of Russia (Nicholas), forbidding the Jews in his dominions to observe their Sabbath or to practise the rite of Circumcision; also, prohibiting the Jewish slaughter of animals for food, excepting under payment of a very heavy tax. This was the report from

[1] See p. 130.

Russia. We had no means of testing its accuracy, but the proclamation of the fast showed what the Jews thought.

A very important event had occurred some time before in the visit of Sir Moses Montefiore to Jerusalem. He arrived in the heat of the summer. The Hebrew population was stirred to its utmost depth by the tidings of his approach—approach involving the certainty of a liberal almsgiving, as well as indirectly more permanent benefits. A deputation of Rabbis, in holiday apparel, with the Chief Rabbi, rode out to receive their illustrious countryman at some distance the day before his entrance into the Holy City.

At an early hour on that day the roads and fields were thronged with an unwonted Jewish population, for these were seldom to be met outside the city walls, except in small companies, and that but occasionally, in the opposite direction, going to Rachel's Sepulchre or to Hebron. It was a wonderful spectacle, never before witnessed. Sir Moses and his lady were attended by the late Colonel Gawler, riding in brilliant scarlet uniform, white plumes, his Waterloo and several other medals, etc. Near the city gate the multitude, of all denominations of people, was immense, and the principal personages of the procession went at once to the Synagogue, while the tents were pitched on the Meidân outside the north-west corner of the wall.

Never before in modern times had there been a Jewish demonstration publicly made, for in former days of oppression and sorrow it would have been as impolitic as impossible.

Sir Moses visited the Pashà, introduced by me as his Consul, and then went to the roof of the barracks to overlook the enclosed site of the ancient Temple—'the courts of the Lord's house.'

Three days later occurred the great Jewish fast of 'the ninth of Ab,' when all stay at home, seated on the ground, with feet bare, fasting rigidly, in commemoration of the two destructions of Jerusalem and the Temple, first by Nebuchadnezzar, and next by Titus.

After a visit to Hebron, Sir Moses and his party left us by way of Jaffa. This was his second visit to the Holy Land, and he left behind some very substantial remembrances in the form of money distribution, both on his own part and from the European collections. It was commonly reported that every Jewish man, woman, and child, indiscriminately, received a silver dollar; and there was an imagination abroad that this unusual mode of almsgiving was adopted in order to obtain a correct census of the Jewish population, without flying in the face of Rabbinical prejudice, which forbids the numbering of the people, in dread of incurring the calamities which were caused by King David having done it.

Of more enduring value than the money distribution was the impression left upon the public mind that the Jews, hitherto so despised, had, in England at least, one wealthy and honoured representative, through whom the griefs of his brethren in Palestine might make themselves heard in Europe.

Before concluding this sketch of Jewish affairs, we may take notice of two curious peculiarities of Jerusalem —both founded on the idea of the place being still their

own—an idea which, although but a shadow at present in relation to other people, is not without weight among themselves.[1] The customs are, of course, limited to the 'Sephardim,' or Israelites of the country.

One is the coining of money, or rather of an equivalent to that special prerogative of royalty (Matth. xxii. 19). The articles are small squares of brass-foil, stamped with the Hebrew words בקור חולים, *i.e.* 'Visiting the Sick.' The practice seems to have originated in adopting a fictitious currency, on temporary occasions, as a means of almsgiving, in anticipation of real money coming to hand. In the Jewish bazaar these pieces are current for all purposes of trade, and are sometimes accepted and passed among other inhabitants of the city as paràs, though inferior in value to even that small coin. The Turks disapprove of the practice, and now and then take the trouble to prohibit it. The Jews, however, are proud of their show of independent royalty, and even if willing to discontinue it, would find it difficult to call in these tokens, so long as their heavy debt remains, for they do actually represent a certain amount of metallic value.

The other custom is that of getting possession of the great keys of the city gates on the decease of each Sultan of Constantinople, and after a religious service of prayer, and anointing them with a mysterious preparation of oil and spices, allowing them to be returned to the civic

[1] Since my leaving the country, the Jews commenced the publication of a Jerusalem newspaper in Hebrew (of which, by the way, there are several in other countries) called, I believe, המגיד 'the Guide,' but which was soon suppressed by the Turkish rulers, on their being told that the Jews speak of that city and land as their own.

authorities on behalf of the new monarch. For the exercise of this traditional custom they make heavy presents to the local governors, who allow of a harmless practice that has prescription to show on its behalf. It is a matter of '*bakhsheesh*' to them, and there is always a class of superstitious people to be found in Palestine who think that the benediction of the ancient 'children of Israel' is worth having; the Jewish feelings are gratified, for their expectation of the future is refreshed, and the Jerusalem Rabbis are enabled to boast all the world over among their people that they suffer the Sultan of Turkey to keep possession of the Holy City.

The Moslems imagine the ceremonial to be the benediction of the incoming reign, but for my part I should like to know what words are used in this consecration of the keys with the 'anointing oil,' and how many of these words have cabalistic or '*Rashé Tevoth*' interpretations and double meanings, for it would be vain to expect to find the formula in any printed books. I am told that in the Sephardi Synagogue are preserved small phials of the 'anointing oil,' remaining from over these ceremonials of many past Sultans; but at the time we are now considering (1853), the Jews had not for some years performed the ceremony, having had no opportunity of doing so.[1]

Notwithstanding these glimpses of honorary distinction the Jews are humiliated by the payment, through the Chief Rabbi, of pensions to Moslem local exactors, for instance the sum of 300*l.* a year to the Effendi whose house adjoins the 'wailing place,' or fragment of the

[1] The ceremony was duly observed in 1861, on the accession of 'Abdu'l 'Aziz to the throne.

western wall of the Temple enclosure, for permission to pray there; 100*l.* a year to the villagers of Siloam for not disturbing the graves on the slope of the Mount of Olives; 50*l.* a year to the Ta'amra Arabs for not injuring the Sepulchre of Rachel near Bethlehem, and about 10*l.* a year to Shaikh Abu Gosh for not molesting their people on the high road to Jaffa, although he was highly paid by the Turkish Government as Warden of that road. All these are mere exactions made upon their excessive timidity, which it is disgraceful to the Turkish Government to allow to be practised. The figures are copied from their humble appeals occasionally made to the synagogues in Europe. Other minor impositions were laid upon them which they were afraid to discontinue to pay, such as, to one man (Moslem) for superintending the slaughtering of cattle by themselves for food, to see that it is performed by the Sephardi Rabbi who has purchased his licence to do it. Periodical presents likewise of sugar, etc., to the principal Moslems at their festivals.

One more observation upon the condition of the Jews in Jerusalem. At that time, and for many centuries previous, the common shambles of the city (called the Meslakh) was kept in the midst of their quarter. The offal accumulated in a deep and wide pit, was never cleared out, and of course at all seasons, particularly in summer heat, was most prejudicial to health, and so it remained for a few years after the Russian war was over. It was there before the conquest by the Arabs, for, according to tradition of all classes of people, it was purposely left there after its existence being reported to Caliph Omar; and it is mentioned as being there later by a

Norman writer in the time of the Crusades (see Williams' 'Holy City').

Let me record an effort made for relief of Jewish extreme poverty by means of agricultural employment. At all times distress and suffering are greatly felt within the Jewish quarter; it was particularly the case in 1852. Under such circumstances the commonest impulse of humanity would have led us to try some means for succouring a people so lamentably devoid of resources among themselves; and as it seemed advisable to do more than supply daily bread to mendicants, even if that were possible, the best idea that suggested itself was that of providing employment, however light, in field work, both as a means of earning daily food for the family, and also for the advantage of health, in preparation for future usefulness; above all for promoting a character of independence among the sufferers. At first the experiment was tried of employing some fifty men in very simple work on my own ground, called the Talibîyeh, one mile distant from the city gate. Others were also sent to work in the valley of Urtâs, beyond Bethlehem,[1] to Mr. Meshullam, who engaged four. The numbers who came to us for work increased, and at length, as will be shown afterwards, a plot of ground was bought by us for the purpose of such employment, and called 'the Industrial Plantation;' but the Rabbis discountenanced the work, as they did later the industrial and educational schemes of Montefiore, Rothschild, or the 'Hebrew Alliance.' However, from that time forward the idea slowly gained ground

[1] Considerable numbers of Jews were afterwards employed by us in Urtâs.

both among Christians and Jews, that the condition of the Israelites in Jerusalem could be most effectually improved by means of Industrial Institutions.

Besides the regular advantages (which were enjoyed by British subjects and *protégés*), the Jews generally were glad to have a Consulate to which they could apply for formal attestations and seals of documents, and of petitions which they despatched over the world.

Any other Consuls, if applied to, would also make these attestations, etc., for them ; but in matters concerning charity they were obtained from us gratis.

Not that I approved of the system called '*Shilichûth*,' but that notwithstanding all its abuses, there seemed to be at that time no other means for alleviating the abounding misery among the Jews.

This system of '*Schilichûth*' deserves to be explained. A '*Shiliach*' is a messenger. The committee in Jerusalem for collection of charity, namely, the Chief Rabbi ('First in Zion'), and his Council, partition the world into districts over which they send '*Shilichim*' to collect funds on their behalf by visitation, by Synagogue preaching, by sale of objects having religious value, or by any other means that may suggest themselves to the intelligence of these messengers. They are furnished with magnificent documents in beautiful handwriting in the Holy Language, and of fine oriental composition, to which are appended numerous large seals giving to such documents due authority.

A Deed of Agreement is likewise drawn up between the bearer (the *Shiliach*), and the committee of congregational officers by whom he is sent, allowing him, besides

travelling expenses, a large percentage upon all that he can collect. That percentage varies according to the countries to which he is commissioned, generally in proportion to the expected difficulties or dangers that he may have to encounter, or the distance to be traversed. Thus the allowance for a journey to India or Barbary would mount higher than that for repairing to France or Germany, and if the business be methodically managed, the bearer has to bring back with him a book in which each Synagogue that contributes has specified its own amount of contribution in detail, and has attested that statement by its own official seal. In some instances the Shiliach will be absent for two or three years, and sometimes, fresh fields are visited, as, for instance, California, or Australia, with New Zealand.

The deputed messenger is usually, or was formerly, entertained wherever he goes, with honours considered only due to one who has breathed the air of the Holy Land, who has prayed at the remnant of the Western wall of the Temple enclosure, or has been in Hebron, in the same city with the Sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Leah, and Rebekah. His benediction is eagerly sought for and is repaid by hospitality and high place in the Synagogue. These honours have, however, been much diminished since the facilities for travelling, afforded by steamboats and railways, have altered the condition of things, and have done away with not only the actual hardships to be endured by the way, but also have tended to diminish the marvels and the wonders which in former days gathered round the facts which the *Shilichim* had to report.

The intense attachment of a believing Israelite to the Holy Land can be but faintly appreciated by others. In proportion to the bitterness of soul and to the sufferings attendant on the exile, so is the affection, the yearning of heart towards the beautiful Land of Promise where sleep the fathers of the people. 'I long to return there as a child to its mother,' are literally the words used by a Jew who had visited Jerusalem. The miracles which attended the deliverance from Egypt, the giving of the law, the forty years in the desert, the entrance into and possession of the Land; the splendour of David's kingdom, and the culminating glory of the Divine Presence in the Holy House: all these are for ever present to the mind of a pious Israelite, kept fresh and vivid by the constant recital of their Liturgies, by the never-ceasing study of the sacred writings, the law, the prophets, the psalms. What wonder that in far distant lands the living messengers from the ruins of the Holy City and Temple should be looked upon with veneration, that willing hearts are moved to give liberally for the support of brethren who, for love of God and their nation, have been ready to go and suffer among 'the heathen,' in order that they may offer supplications where alone they believe they can be completely effectual—at the Sanctuary itself—for the termination of the long tribulation, for the fulfilment of all the glorious promises of restoration that have during centuries past nerved the people of Israel to endure, and to look forward through present agonies—undespairing, uncrushed—to the coming glory, the final bliss that are to outshine all the past by a splendour scarcely to be conceived!

Who are the persons benefited by the funds raised as thus described, and brought to Jerusalem by the *Shilichim*? The money is contributed chiefly with the idea of supporting perpetually a pious and learned population in the Holy cities, and the donors believe that, inasmuch as all these are poor, the proceeds are divided impartially among all; that the numbers being counted, the distribution is made accordingly to every head of a family. But as has been shown above, interest on loans has first to be paid to the public creditors (not Jews). Then come next the official administrators for the large share allotted to them. These dues are known by the name of *Kadeemah*. Next come those persons who, for some reason or other previously existing, have a right of priority as to a settled pension or annuity (these last have mostly deposited monies in the fund and draw the interest). After all these deductions the residue forms the fund for division, which is then under its Hebrew name of *Chalûka* (apportioning) distributed among heads of houses, *including* those who have already received a share under the preceding classes.

And so it comes to pass that there are some rich men who receive their *Chalûka*, unshamed by others and unblushing for themselves. At the period to which the history refers there were but very few rich men among the thousands of Jerusalem Jews: but it was felt by enlightened Jews from Europe to be a scandal that men of comparative wealth, and even one or two successful traders, should be receiving any share of the alms needed for the relief of the poor, at a time when there was so great an amount of distress that both Jews and Christians were

seeking aid from Europe for the succour of the starving multitude.

This method of procuring alms for the support of the Jews in Jerusalem is liable to abuses, and some of these have been partly exposed in such books as Dr. Fränkel's 'Nach Jerusalem,' and the London 'Jewish Chronicle;' but not to the extent of dealing with all the evils that have come under my observation. Sometimes the Shiliach Licence was sold by the bearer to another man for profit, without the former having left Jerusalem at all. Sometimes the Colel (*i.e.* the Corporation for management of the common fund) granted licences, with attestations that the bearer was well known for learning and sanctity of life, to persons of immoral character. Occasionally, members of the Colel (which is always a close corporation of a few Rabbis, sometimes related by marriage) themselves become Shilichim, bearing attestations of piety, etc., etc. Sometimes the messengers, on their return from abroad, rendered but small proceeds of money, refusing to give any account to the congregation, on the ground that their sacred office of Rabbi placed them above suspicion.[1]

It is grievous to go back in memory, and to review transactions such as these; but the very foundation on which the system rests is pernicious, and other and better measures for obtaining revenue should be substituted.

The system of collecting alms for the Holy Land is very ancient—we read of it in Roman history, and I am told it is referred to in the Talmud. Nay, even the primitive

[1] An instance of this nature concerning Hebron connected with fraud, cruel and extensive, came before the Consulate in 1862.

Christians, in times of temporary pressure, sent contributions to the poor saints which were in Jerusalem, and St. Paul himself was once a bearer of such benevolence. The custom is derived from good instincts of religious conscience; but the practical benefit of it, even where properly applied, must depend upon righteous administration to those in need.

The present system involves, as has been explained, the doubtful advantage of the employment of the '*Shelichim*' (messengers). Of late this agency is prohibited in Russia, and a *Shiliach* practising there becomes amenable by law to imprisonment or other penalties—the object of the law being to retain the property of the Empire within its own bounds—and other nations have formerly objected to wealth being drained away from themselves for the benefit of foreigners, who produce nothing in return, not even in the way of trade.

For my own part, without attempting to check the stream of charity, I took every opportunity that was convenient of recommending that contributions for the Holy Land should be transmitted by means of the usual professional bankers. This, if generally done, would obviate any waste of the funds between giver and receiver, as well as dishonesty.

Of late years the Austrian synagogues send their remittances, together with a public notification of the amount, to their Consulate in Jerusalem. The Consul receives a commission on the same for his trouble; but even this method of transmission has disadvantages.

Besides the Jewish British subjects and *protégés* already described, there were some of both these classes

in Hebron and in the other Holy cities; there were also in Hebron a few Tuscans and Dutch subjects, who had by permission of their own Consular authorities in Beyroot placed themselves under British protection.

Thus the British Consulate was always kept busy in transacting the business brought before it by the Jews; not only by the Jews in Jerusalem, but by those from Safed, Tiberias, Caifa, Nabloos, and Hebron.

It was distressing to behold the timidity which long ages of oppression had engendered. Many times a poor Jew would come for redress against a native, and when he had substantiated his case, and it had been brought by the Consulate before the Turkish authorities, he would, in mere terror of future possible vengeance, withdraw from the prosecution, and even deny that any harm had been done him; or if that was too manifest, declare that he could not identify the criminal, or that the witnesses could not be produced. Still, even then, the bare fact that some notice had been taken had a deterrent effect upon criminals who had hitherto regarded the defenceless Jews as their special prey.

It was no small satisfaction to me that not only Hebrew, but the extraordinary medley of languages called *Jüdisch*, both oral and written, was intelligible to my own family without an interpreter. This was a great boon to the people; for, with their characteristic timidity, they are unwilling to trust their affairs to the intervention of a dragoman. This was an advantage to be found in no other Consulate.

With regard to pure Hebrew, the learned world in Europe is greatly mistaken in designating this a dead

language. In Jerusalem it is a living tongue of every-day utility—necessarily so, for in what else could Jewish strangers from the opposite ends of the earth converse together? In our Consular office Hebrew was often heard spoken—on one occasion by a Jew from Cabool, who had to enter into explanations with one from California: of course in Hebrew. That language was a medium of transacting business in the English Consulate.[1]

[1] The author does not mention his own proficiency in the Holy Tongue. It was well known to the Jews of Palestine that he could understand any communications addressed to him in that language, and they thankfully availed themselves of this circumstance. Dr. L. Fränkel of Vienna, when describing his visit to Jerusalem, says of Mr. Finn, that an incident, while he was staying with a friend, led 'to his acquaintance with this in many respects interesting man. He speaks and writes Hebrew admirably.' (Fränkel's 'Nach Jerusalem,' Leipzig, 1858.)

'The Orphan Colony of Jews in China' contains copies of Hebrew questions drawn up in Hebrew by Mr. Finn himself, in 1844—for transmission to the Jews in China—and they sufficiently show his mastery of the language long before he went to live in Jerusalem. ('Orphan Colony of Jews in China,' p. 15, 121, 124, Nisbet's.) During his residence as Consul in the Holy City he devoted much of the time which early rising and unremitting diligence enabled him to secure to careful study of Hebrew and Hebrew literature.

The Sunday services in Christ Church have been mentioned; my husband attended them regularly, and he also, when in town, usually attended the daily Hebrew service at seven in the morning. To him Hebrew was a living language—spoken, written, and read, as one of the tongues necessary for transaction of his Consular business.

Letters and documents of all kinds were constantly addressed to the British Consul not only in classical Hebrew, written in the square characters, but in the Judeo-Polish and Sephardi dialects, and in the respective cursive characters of each; for all the Jews knew that he had taken pains to learn to read and write them, and that he was in the habit of himself reading all documents and correspondence. This he did with Arabic and Turkish papers as well as others. They might be, and usually were, read and translated by the official dragoman at first; but after office hours, if not before, they were carefully gone through and examined by the Consul himself; for he was ever alive to the duty of taking all the responsibility on himself of everything which he entrusted to his subordinates, and also to the necessity of allowing no one, however trustworthy, to come between himself and those whose

The Hebron Jews were more exposed than even those in Jerusalem to rough usage from the natives, and they had suffered greatly from the tyrannies of the brutal 'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer.

Those living in Safed, in Galilee, however, were of a different stamp, and much better able to hold their own. There was, on one occasion, an affair in that town of some rioters breaking for plunder into the houses of some Jews who were British protégés, and we had caused five of the offenders to be imprisoned. They were soon, however, allowed by the Governor to be at liberty again, and my protégés went down at once to demand justice from the Pashà in Acre, at the same time writing to acquaint me with the circumstances. This was not the only occasion in which I had to observe the manly spirit of the Jews in that mountain town, compared with all others of their nation throughout Palestine. Yet, whenever their independence was shown in an unjust cause, as sometimes happened, their behaviour had to be treated accordingly. The Galileans of Josephus's wars were a hardy and a stubborn people.

Finally, I feel compelled to say that, notwithstanding their many errors and failings, evident enough to those who have most intercourse with the Jews in Palestine, those faults are mostly limited to the sphere of their own

interests it was his duty to guard. All this entailed immense labour, but without it the efficiency of the Consulate could not have been maintained. Many an important bit of information reached the British Consul which would never have been transmitted through a third person, because he was able to receive it direct from people speaking other languages than English. —Ed.

affairs. They aim at little beyond that boundary, are timid under oppression, and the outward conduct remains conformable to that state of mind long after the actual necessity exists.

After that stage again being passed, the native high pride sometimes carries them into extremes on the other side. I have known Jews who were insolent and ungrateful, just as I have found some other people to be; but I have experienced many acts of kindness from Jews in the Holy Land. Among other affecting tokens of gratitude, individuals have on several occasions resorted to the 'Western Wall' of the Temple to pray for my children, and also for myself, in times of sorrow and sickness.

I have never had reason to modify an old remark of mine, that, from the effect of their domestic morality and family affections, these were the people in Jerusalem who could best afford to look an Englishman straight in the face.

Such are my remarks concerning the Jews of Palestine at the time of the Russian War being declared, together with their relations to the Turkish authorities and to the European Consulates.

Translated Extract from an Address of Russian Jews in Safed on their coming under English protection, 1849.

(After compliments to the Consul in Jerusalem)

We acknowledge to the Lord and praise Him that He has put it into the heart of the Glory of the Pity of the mighty Crowned Queen, the pious, the precious, the upright, who reigns over the provinces of England and its dependencies, to do good

to the people of Israel and to succour them with every kind of aid, for great and small, and to defend them from those who rise up against them

With a perfect heart
Of mercy and loving kindness;
And with the tips of the wings of Mercy
And the grace of her Righteousness
She has extended and caused to shine upon us,
Who dwell in our own land,
The holy (be it established in our days),
Us, who are burdened with troubles—
Sinking into distress,
Poverty and calamity,
But loving the land of our Fathers,
The place of our honour.
We here are those
Who are the sons of the provinces of Russia,
And this is the day we have looked for:
We have found it, we have seen it—
For she has bent down her pity to receive us
Under the shade of her wings of compassion,
And to comfort us with shade of her mighty rule,
For a name, for a praise, and for glory!
Yea, our souls within us are bound
To implore Him, who is fearful in mighty acts,
With praises and prayers,
That He may prolong her days
In rest and satisfaction;
That the Lord may hedge her in,
And all that are hers:
The princes around her,
With her nobles,
And all those comforted in her shadow.
May they rise on wings of elevation, of prosperity,
In fulness of joy;
And may her kingdom be established
Like the Moon, for ever and ever,

Until the coming of Messiah!
May the Lord bless their lives and their substance,
And increase their honour,
And crown their praise!
Amen, so be Thy will!

CHAPTER VI.

PROTESTANTS IN PALESTINE.

The Protestants in Jerusalem—Natives—Arabs—Europeans—Hebrew-Christians—English—Germans—American Missionaries—Jewish Mission resolve on building a Church—British authorities co-operate—Egyptian Government favourable—Ottoman Government refuses—English Bishopric established in 1841—Action of the King of Prussia—Consecration of Bishop Alexander—Firmân authorising the building of the Church as Consular Chapel, granted in 1841—Consecration of church, 1849—English Mission—Origin of Native Protestantism—Early Missionaries, English and American—Second English Bishop—Firmân of toleration for Protestants, 1850—Nazareth disturbances, 1852—Translation of the Sultan's Firmâns—and of the Vizierial letter.

At the period of which we are treating there were in Jerusalem, and elsewhere in Palestine, not only Christian communities of the Oriental Churches and of the Western, or Latin, but also a considerable number of Protestants, both native and European. The natives were Arabs who had left the Greek, Armenian, or Latin Churches; the Europeans included Hebrew Christians and English members of the Church of England. The Germans formed a separate congregation. There were, moreover, a few Americans by themselves. It may be interesting if we give an account of the rise of Protestantism there in general.

The capitulations made in olden time between the European powers and the Ottoman Porte do not allude to forms of religious belief or worship, but are confined to articles concerning secular business, chiefly commercial.

The Turks were familiar with the idea of Christianity as a whole, but the word Protestant is of new importation among them.

During the Egyptian rule in Syria, Protestantism was represented in Jerusalem by American Presbyterian missionaries and by an agent—sometimes two—of the English Episcopal Mission to the Jews, each party celebrating Divine worship in its own house, or occasionally together when they met for the purpose.

Soon, however, the Jewish mission resolved on erecting a church for itself in Jerusalem, and its managers in London petitioned our Government for official aid in carrying out that object, there being at the time a likelihood of succeeding with the new and liberal Egyptian Government in Syria.

This was contemporaneous with the institution of the English (which was the earliest) Consulate in Jerusalem. The Consul, on his arrival, and the Consul-General in Egypt, recommended the design. Lord Palmerston also, in the Foreign Office, directed the latter to make application to Mohammed 'Ali in its favour; but that ruler, while expressing his personal willingness to grant it, explained that, as it was a matter bearing upon fundamental laws of the Ottoman Empire, he could only advise that an appeal be made to the supreme government of the Sultan. He had previously, however, allowed the site of ground to be purchased, and held in the name of the missionary Nicolayson, and the preparations to be begun.

The Ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, accordingly applied to the Porte, but there the concession was refused on the

ground that Mohammedan law (as it was vaguely expressed, but meaning the capitulation granted to the Christians of Jerusalem by the Caliph 'Omar on his conquest of the country), forbids the erection of new Christian churches. It is true that by the terms of that document —the first ever made of that nature between the parties. and which formed the model for all such treaties elsewhere — one of the articles expressly precludes the building of new churches and the use of church-bells by the Christians, but the latter item had never been obeyed in the Lebanon, and several new churches had been connived at in various parts of the empire, and notably in Alexandria, where Mohammed 'Ali had not only permitted an English church to be built, but had himself made a donation of the ground for its site.

There can be no doubt of the employment of intrigue and money among the Turkish Divân on the part of the Latin and Greek communities for impeding the introduction of Protestantism, and thus for a time the business was postponed, or, as it was hoped, extinguished ; but the refusal was felt in England to be peculiarly ungracious, as the Porte had just at that very time (1839) everything to hope from us for the regaining possession of Syria, which, indeed, they did receive from us the next year, and which the French (*i.e.* Latin interests) were eager to prevent their obtaining. Moreover, it is only fair to keep in mind that neither Turks, on one side, nor Protestants, or English, on the other, had been parties to the Jerusalem capitulations with 'Omar.

In 1841 a remarkable step forwards was made by

the establishment of an English bishopric[1] in the Holy City, with jurisdiction over clergy in large geographical regions around. The King of Prussia, desirous of having Protestantism, *as such*, represented there, yielded precedence to England, for the reason that she had already her missionary institutions on the spot, and gave most generously from his private purse (not from national funds) one-half of the perpetual endowment of that English bishopric, reserving only an alternate nomination to the office, yet leaving every presentation on either side subject to the veto of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The king sent a special Envoy (Chevalier Bunsen) to negotiate the matter in London, and the scheme was favourably received there, as the time seemed to have arrived for an exercise, by ecclesiastical rulers, of some control over episcopally ordained missionaries in those Eastern lands. It was desirable likewise to provide for the ordination of fresh agents as emergencies might arise, and for use of the rite of confirmation among English families growing up in the Levant. It was believed to be desirable, moreover, to exhibit to the Orientals our reformed doctrine in connection with episcopal tradition and liturgical worship.

The movement was clearly one made in the spirit of Protestantism, since it originated with the Prussian king; and the Queen of England, who gave the licence, as well as the English episcopacy, through which the spiritual part of the transaction was effected, are both necessarily Protestant. The project would not have originated with

[1] The King of Prussia gave half the endowment for a *bonâ fide* English bishopric—not as some have erroneously supposed for a bishopric partly German in some way.

the party calling itself Anglo-Catholic, which indeed offered to it the most strenuous opposition. It seems reasonable that the Church of England should be represented by her bishop in the Holy City, where, as on common ground, all the Eastern Churches have their representatives—Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Copts, all have their bishops in Jerusalem.

When the English Church had thus become settled in Jerusalem, the American missionaries, pious and able men, withdrew themselves to strengthen their other operations around the Lebanon, where they have ever since met with remarkable success, leaving the field of Palestine to the episcopal Protestants. The primary object in view being to uphold and extend the existing episcopal English mission to the Jews, a clergyman was selected by the King of Prussia who had devoted his life to the Jewish subject. This was the Reverend Dr. M^{c} Caul, who, however, declined the honour in favour of a Christian Israelite, whose Hebrew nationality gave, he believed, a greater claim to hold the office of a bishop in the Land of Israel. Bishop Alexander was, therefore, consecrated for that diocese, November 7, 1841, and carried with him to Jerusalem, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, letters commendatory to the 'orthodox' ecclesiastical authorities, announcing that he was sent 'to exercise spiritual superintendence over the clergy and laity of our Church who sojourn there, and in adjacent countries: but that no one may be ignorant why we have sent this bishop, our brother, we make known to you that we have charged him in no wise and in no matter to invade the jurisdiction of you the bishops, or others,

bearing rule in the churches of the East.' To these instructions Dr. Alexander loyally adhered during his short career. He was not 'Bishop of Jerusalem,' but English bishop in Jerusalem.

The episcopate was thus founded on principles diametrically opposed to those of the Latin patriarchate soon after, which are those of aggression, or rather on the assumption that that office is of right the true patriarchate of Jerusalem, and its holder a deputy of the successor of St. Peter, the only vicar of Christ. The chief missionary care of the English bishop was to be directed to the conversion of the Jews, to their protection, and to their useful employment.

It was curious to note the different opinions of the period concerning this new bishopric—the rabid invectives of certain parties in Europe, not only of some in England, who imprecated Heaven that the scheme might be confounded and come to nought; but likewise of those in Prussia who, on their Evangelical or Lutheran principles, and those in France who, on their Calvinistic principles, expressed their hostility to episcopacy in general, and to this episcopate in particular. It is also amusing to look back to the silly exaggerations of Roman Catholic journals, some of which were even repeated from these in the House of Commons in 1843.[1]

The Oriental convents of course took alarm at this novelty. When some two years afterwards Bishop Alex-

[1] If it be true that Austria lodged a formal protest at the Porte against the erection of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem, this would show that the bombardment of Acre was not an enterprise taken by the two Protestant Powers in preparation for that bishopric, as some have said, seeing that the Austrians joined in the actual bombardment, and the Prussians did not.

ander with his family pitched tents at a village called Jifna, exclusively Greek-Christian, for recovery of health in country air after a sickness contracted in the city, and his medical attendant, the doctor of the Jewish mission, wished to employ one of the peasants in wine-making, the Greek authorities were thrown into a state of sheer terror, lest now wholesale decoying of their flocks should be commenced. The Pashà was bribed to put a stop to such heretical proceedings, and no Protestants pitched their tents there for many a long year after.

Notwithstanding the very proper injunction laid upon the English bishop, to abstain from invading the jurisdiction of the Greek ecclesiastics, a wide scope of activity lay open for direct missionary work under his direction among Jews, Mohammedans, Druzes, Falashas of Abyssinia, Chaldeans, and the more than semi-idolaters in Northern Syria and the dwellers in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. It might even be contended, on the principles of the Constantinopolitan canons of A.D. 381, that his missionaries are not precluded from action amongst Roman Catholics in the East, or the Monophysite churches, as occasion and prudence may require, seeing that these are already in a state either of schism or of separation from the Orthodox Patriarchate.

Bishop Alexander was succeeded in 1846 by Dr. Gobat, a Swiss—not of Jewish origin.

The bishopric being thus instituted and occupied, the intention of building the material church was resumed. After about three years of suspense, the Jews' Society in 1842 tested the actual position of affairs by commencing the work without asking aid of either Consulate or

Embassy. The Pashà at once put a stop to the proceeding, and for three years more no progress was made, except that in a spirit of faith in the future the quarrying of stone was carried on in the villages of Bethlehem and Anathoth; the squaring also of these stones when brought in was continued upon the ground itself. These as materials were laid up in piles awaiting 'the good time coming.'

At length, in September, 1845, a Firmân was granted on Constantinople for building the church, in consideration that 'the English and the Prussian Protestants were without a place of worship.' The church was, however, to be built upon the premises of the British Consulate, *i.e.* as a consular chapel. A Vizierial letter in due form accompanied the Firmân; but 'Ali Pashà of Jerusalem, at whose suggestion it does not appear, discovered that the Firmân could not be acted upon :—

1st. Because the building, the foundation of which was already laid, was not upon premises of the Consulate, but in a separate part of the town: in fact, the latter was then a small hired house, and had no spare ground on which to erect a church.

2nd. Because the Turkish word *Insha*, used in the documents, does not signify *proceeding with a building*, but the making of a totally new edifice, which again would be contrary to the capitulations of 'Omar.

These objections, however, were removed in December by a fresh Vizierial letter, duly forwarded by the Musheer of Beyroot, who commanded the Pashà to offer no further hindrance. The society also gave orders to go on with a house for the Consulate alongside of the

church, as had been before intended. The church, however, was completed first, and previous to its being finished, Divine Service was conducted in a room within the enclosure of the mission premises, as was also the consular business in another room alongside.

Christ Church, the church erected under the circumstances thus described, was consecrated for public worship in January, 1849, as a Hebrew Christian Church, held in trust by the London Jews' Society. The Israelites who have become believers in Christianity form the congregation, together with the missionaries and their families, the Consul, and any other English who may happen to be in Jerusalem. The incumbent must always be a clergyman of the Church of England, who is at the same time chief missionary to the Jews. A German congregation has been gradually formed under the auspices of the Bishop and the Prussian Consulate. This congregation is permitted to hold its Protestant services in the same church. The original arrangement for this became in course of time altered, so as to admit of services being held by other European Protestants, Dutch, Swedish, &c., to whom the church has been occasionally lent.

Various Prussian institutions of Hospital, Hospice, Deaconesses, &c., have been established, and have become of considerable importance in Jerusalem.

The society of Europeans in the Holy City consisted of the Consular families, the religious missionaries (Roman Catholic or Protestant), medical men of various nations, and a few shopkeepers. We had also a very few English who lived on their own means.

Of course there was no commercial activity in the place,

excepting merely for the supply of the wants of the inhabitants, and although immense sums are poured into Jerusalem annually from abroad, the city gave out nothing. European goods were received, but no exports were made in return, except soap to the Levantine ports. This absence of animation derivable from trade or manufacture was in keeping with the solemn historical and religious office which Jerusalem has had, and still has, to fulfil in this world's concerns. To persons imbued with the gay habits of other places, no doubt the time and pursuits there must appear monastically dull. Not only have French visitors been known to utter the ejaculation which ever accompanies the shrug of the shoulders, at the contrast between Jerusalem and Paris, or even Constantinople, but some English people, though not many, have joined in bewailing the dulness of Jerusalem. Yet pleasures that would be tolerable elsewhere could not but be out of place in Jerusalem. The balls, the theatrical amusements and fashionable dressing, to be found even in Beyroot, were unsuited to the majestic realities of religion, and to the feelings inspired by Jerusalem. The *religio loci* of Virgil is a phrase unequal to the associations of Jerusalem history—to the awe with which they must ever be remembered, to the sublime blessings there bestowed on the world.

But the strongest expression of melancholy and pining for European diversions was uttered by an Italian gentleman who had long resided amongst us. 'Ah!' said he, 'the sadness of Jerusalem! It is over this city gate that ought to be inscribed the well-known lines of Dante—

'Per me si và nella città dolente,
Per me si và nell' eterno dolore,'

' not omitting the other line of the same stanza—

'Lasciate ogni speranza voi che entrate.'

It is true that the speaker was one who had but small occupation for his time—was in ill health and unmarried, circumstances which might account for much of his despondency. The mere routine of existence, or of attendance on ecclesiastical functions, might suffice for inmates of the cloisters of St. Salvatore, but not for a man of a liberal profession as he was, who had seen the world.

Yet there were others in the Holy City whose family circles supplied a full share of domestic satisfaction; and there were also men whose days were occupied in responsible duties, and who possessed tastes for historical investigation. These were contented people, whose trials, incident to human life, came on them from without. There were persons who had learned to ascribe to the venerable Jerusalem other lines from the same stanza of the same poet, in a dignified and a pleasing sense—

Giustizia mosse 'l mio alto fattore:
La somma sapienza è 'l primo amore—

words perfectly applicable to that sacred city, with the sequence of acts and prophecies there accomplished, and not exclusive of a futurity more brilliant still in reserve.

The Creator of all has endowed some minds with the faculty of dwelling with complacency upon pleasant images of both past and future, in alleviation of the harsh and carking cares that beset our life's career. Minds such as these may delight in idyllic scenes of olden time

at some periods of Hebrew history, when every man sat under his own vine and under his own fig tree, the verdure of which was enlivened by the scarlet blossoms of the pomegranate; and in contemplating the times when, secure from foreign invasion, each man repaired thrice a year to the one Holy Temple, bringing with him the rural offerings for himself and for his family. And then they may anticipate a peaceful time to come, when rivers shall break forth in dry places; when the hills now so bare shall be clothed with the verdure of fruit trees; when every village may be a collection of Christian families, each with its parish church and school; and when, as Jerome partly witnessed in the fifth century, and described, Bethlehem shepherds and husbandmen may do their work, singing Alleluias and the Psalms of David; —finally, when 'Violence shall no more be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction within its borders;' and 'they shall not hurt nor destroy in all the Holy mountain.'

But these happy visions are matters of faith, not of sight. The bliss and the moral sunshine are as yet but future; for now we look around, and have to see—that state of things described in this work: a custody of Holy Places by unbelievers, amid the unholy passions of jealousy, malice, with mendacity and uncharitableness, to the extent of actual bloodthirstiness; and we have to behold the barbarism of those who are the present tenants of the Promised Land. How long?

The two English Missionary Societies who had establishments in Jerusalem were—1. The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. 2. The

Church Missionary Society. The first, the Jews' Society, employed some English agents, and some foreigners and Jewish converts. They held the church and the land upon which it was built, in trust, and they also had a hospital for poor Jews, and a dispensary. The chief of this mission was the Reverend J. Nicolayson, a Dane by birth, but ordained in London, who had been in Palestine since 1825.

The Church Missionary Society employed Germans chiefly; they had stations at Jerusalem, Nabloos, Nazareth, and Bethlehem. Besides the work carried on by these societies, the Anglican bishop employed native Scripture readers, and had elementary schools in Jerusalem and in various other places.

A sewing and knitting school for Jewesses was founded in Jerusalem by an English lady, Miss Cooper, who superintended it with the help of young English assistants. Certain American and German sectaries, each body but few in number, but classed under the elastic name of Protestant, had occasionally been found in Jerusalem and Jaffa, but their importance had always been too small to attract attention, and they had no sort of connection with the English bishopric or church.

At the period to which this history refers, there were several native English families resident in Jerusalem, who were of course regular attendants at the English services in Christ Church. The numerous British travellers were also glad to avail themselves of the opportunity of attending Divine service here afforded them.

We may now come to the subject of Protestantism among the native Arabic-speaking Christians of the country.

The change that has taken place by means of the ingraft of Protestantism among Arab-Christians cannot be adequately understood without looking back to the records of early missionary explorers, such as Jowett, Wolff, and Fisk of the year 1823, or the American reports home of Whiting, Bird, and Goodell. The fright goading to acts of desperation which the Latin convent exhibited, on the approach of the first shadow of Protestantism, is narrated as follows :—Fisk and a companion arrived in Jerusalem with a box of Bibles in Arabic and other languages, for sale, or other means of distribution. The local governor arrested their proceedings, because, he said, 'the Latins told him the books were neither Jewish, Mohammedan, nor Christian.' The box and writing-desks were ransacked, and then placed in a room which they sealed up. Proclamation was made in the streets, forbidding persons to buy or accept the volumes from these strangers, and ordering that all such purchases or presents were to be returned. Then the missionaries were taken by police through the streets to both Kadi and Governor, and made to pass a night in the filthy guard-room, among soldiers gambling. Next day, however, they were allowed to sell or give the books, only not to Mohammedans; an when urged to punish the intruders by imprisonment, the Governor found that he had no power to proceed so far with the possessors of a travelling Firmân.

The old Orthodox Church of the land remained more drowsy than the Latins for a time. It had never been their habit to obstruct the use of Holy Scripture among the laity, probably on account of the results of printing-presses not having yet made much inroad among them—

though it must be allowed that even now they offer no direct impediment on that point. It was at a later period, when seceders from them began to form themselves into communities under a separate designation, that the Greek ecclesiastics began to act, and resorted to persecution; and this was chiefly done through the hands of Moslem municipal authorities (set in motion by the Greeks or by the Russian authorities). The march of events has brought about a more favourable condition of Protestantism.

The early efforts of Smith and Whiting, who succeeded in settling in the country during the Egyptian rule, never died away—the seeds did not perish entirely. The Bibles and treatises which they circulated remained in possession of families at Jerusalem, Nabloos, Nazareth, and other places; and the Hatti-Shereef of 1841 had proclaimed religious toleration, so far as a State document could enforce obedience upon an unwilling majority of its subjects. The charter only required honesty and uncorrupt hands on the part of its administrators to obtain success. The conditions prescribed to those who were to be benefited by it were simply—for each community, new or old—to register the names of its members by a government officer, and to elect officers from themselves who should be responsible to government for the taxes when due.

Very soon after the arrival of the second English bishop (consecrated in 1846), namely, in 1847, the survivors of the old frequenters of the American missionaries gathered around him as they had around his predecessor, and represented that, having got possession of our Prayer-

book in their own language, and so become acquainted with its contents, they desired to place themselves under his instruction. They described their condition as that of having been long ago excommunicated from their original Greek and Latin churches (mostly the former), they were now without public worship or the Christian Sacraments, and their children were growing up in ignorance of spiritual things; they pleaded the sacred rights of human conscience (almost a novelty in the East), and the toleration proclaimed by the government of their native country—begging to be furnished with teachers of religion, especially in behalf of the young generation who had never been subjects of Greek or Roman ecclesiastical rulers.

After the Firmân of 1850, recognising the independence of Protestantism in the empire, and prescribing its relations to the Sultan's government, these people, in conformity with the same, formed themselves into a body in each of their respective towns, at first under the denomination of 'Anjelîyeen,' or 'Gospellers,'[1] the same as that of the old English Wickliffites; they elected their officers duly, and had themselves registered in government books.

The bishop could not bid them return to obedience of the Jerusalem patriarchate, and submit themselves to a clergy from whom their minds revolted, as being too frequently ignorant, tyrannical, and sensual in habits of life; or tell them, in short, that they were not Christians unless they did so return; and then they had been already

[1] This title has never obtained usage among outsiders. The familiar name all over the country, and even among the people themselves, is 'Bordistanti,' *i.e.* 'Protestant'—besides, that is the name designated in the Firmân.

excommunicated and cast off. He, therefore, got schools provided for them at the expense of the Church Missionary Society, or perhaps with some help from other quarters. A house in each of the above towns was taken, and a native schoolmaster paid in each, who also collected the people together at stated times for reading the Scriptures and portions of our Liturgy: this as a provisional condition till a European could be found and trained to be their pastor.

In this manner was embodied the Arab Protestantism of Palestine. The people were anxious to escape from the intolerable state in which they had been brought up, and to enjoy the liberty accorded them by their civil Sovereign.

I leave to others to discuss their doctrinal reasons for secession.

The Turkish rulers cared nothing for the new turn of events. Those of the modern school, the Tanzimât, &c., were professors of liberality, and those of the old school were indifferent to any interchange of sects among Christians. They held that 'hepsi doñuz' (they are all pigs alike), and there was no more to be said about it, or, according to an Arabic proverb, 'Reehhet et Toom, reehhah wahh'deh' (the smell of all garlic is one).

When under influence of bribery from the convents, the local authorities did take the trouble to put obstacles in the way of Christian nonconformity, those obstacles were made in the form of technicalities connected with the taxes, and in this manner:—

According to ancient practice of administration, in each town or rural district, every sect—Moslem, Jewish,

Christian, etc.—had its chief, who kept a register of its families in duplicate with that of the government, and was responsible for so much taxation, in proportion to the number of heads of families on the list.

But for a long time until pressure could be brought to bear from higher quarters, which of course involved delay, the local collector would refuse to remove the name of an obnoxious person or family from its old accustomed register to the fresh one of the Protestants, alleging the confusion that must result in making up the public accounts; yet, in many instances, at the same time also levying upon them on the new account.

This behaviour of the local officer was always in conformity with the motive-action of the convents, or others who pulled the wires.

In March 1852 Nazareth was the scene of a Latin riot at the instigation of the friars, without the direct sanction of the petty Moslem governor. In that town the Latin sect of Christians is the most numerous, and their influence in questions of property and suchlike matters is therefore considerable.

Fra Angelo was at that time their popular preacher, and one Sunday in the Convent Church (the celebrated Church of the Annunciation), he wrought himself up to frenzy in the pulpit—he stamped and tore his hair, vociferating that 'The Protestants, the cursed Protestants, had dared to come even here, even here! in the city of Jesus Christ himself and his holy Mother!'

He concluded his sermon by an excommunication of certain individuals from their body, and had their names posted on the church-door. No wonder that

on the second day afterwards a rabble assembled in the streets, and proceeded to pull down the Protestant school during the time of the children's lessons, and flinging the masonry stones about they cut open the head of the schoolmaster, a European agent of an English society, while Fra Angelo was a spectator of the doings from round a street corner. Intelligence of the affair was sent to me, with appeal for protection, and I determined on repairing to the place myself to get what redress I could from the Governor; at least on account of the damage done to the house, which was the property of the Church Missionary Society (the minister and the schoolmaster were respectively French and German subjects). I wrote off to the Pashà of Acre, in whose territory Nazareth lies, requesting him to send to meet me at Nazareth, and to have inquiries instituted as to the riotous proceedings. I also acquainted our bishop with my plan of action.

In two days I was at Nazareth, but owing to my having slept at Nabloos on the way, the secretary of the Latin Patriarch (the latter had heard of my movements) arrived first on the scene. At entrance of the town I was hooted at by children of the Latins clapping their hands, and screaming out the epithet 'Bordistanti' (Protestant); some stones were likewise thrown innocuously from a distance.

Next day being Sunday, I notified to the Mutesellim, or Governor, that I was going to Divine worship at the Protestant Chapel (used as the school on week-days), and got his promise that no molestation should occur; in fact all went off peaceably. The congregation that day consisted of about twenty natives (their wives not attend-

ing, because the place was not a consecrated church: such is the inveterate Oriental feeling, and which cannot but be respected). The English liturgy was read in Arabic, and the 'proper lessons' by one of the congregation, son of a Greek priest.

The street was still encumbered with stones of the house wall as left by the rioters. In the afternoon arrived three horsemen from Acre, bringing a letter from the Pashà to the Mutesellim, which ordained that the Protestant worship was not to be hindered or insulted.

Next day, after formal visits from, and then returned to, the Mutesellim, I took down the depositions of witnesses, and the morning after dispatched my Cancellière with them to Acre to have the case judged while I should return home, leaving the little Protestant community much relieved in mind; the great point had been gained of impressing upon the mind of the Moslem governor that violence was not to be allowed, and upon that of the people that enquiry would surely follow upon any outrage.

In Nabloos on the return I had some business with the Samaritans, who are also a persecuted people, and attended morning and evening prayers in the Protestant school-room.

At Jerusalem I at once visited the Latin patriarch, and related the occurrences. Of course, his Grace deprecated the resort to public tumult and personal injury, but was of opinion, which could not be contravened, that every human association has a right to expel members who infringe its known regulations: and on my replying that the posting of excommunicated names upon the

church-door was a needless measure after the fact of extrusion was accomplished, he explained, what was quite true, that that church-door was situated within a court yard to which the general public of the town did not resort, and therefore the scandal had not been very great. The matter of the riot lay with the Pashà of Acre to deal with.

In conclusion of this episode, it should be added that no other consul took up the business, and that it required a second ride to Nazareth, and thence to Acre, to get as much redress as could be expected, and which really was effective at last by means of orders sent from Constantinople through our ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning.[1] Fra Angelo was beyond our reach, for it is said that, according to capitulations, the inmates of convents are amenable only to their own superiors.

The next year (1853) I was again in Nazareth, and found the Protestants respectable in number and character; they were also supported by a goodly party in the town council. The Greek party was necessarily somewhat in the shade by reason of the war then commenced, and they had summoned their only clever man in Palestine (out of Jerusalem) Nyphon, the curate of Nabloos, to be bishop of Nazareth, with a view of counteracting the Protestant progress. The Latin community was still at the mercy of stupid and ignorant friars, whose influence was certainly diminished since Fra Angelo's ebullition above described.

On the whole subject of native Protestantism I am convinced that it has a good reflective effect upon the old

[1] See Translations given at the end of this Chapter.

Christian communities, and also in behalf of even these in the mind of the Moslem enemies, who will learn that Christianity is not necessarily a mere worship of images and pictures, but is consistent with good moral conduct before God and man. The servitude of many generations has undoubtedly produced an evil effect upon Oriental Christendom, so that one often hears it said, Give me the plain word of a Mohammedan and I will believe it, but no trust is to be placed in a score of Christian oaths. I am sure that there is at all times much exaggeration in this, and that in so far as it may be true, we are to attribute the difference to prolonged oppression endured on the one side, while the outside virtues of Moslems are often the fruit of intense and intolerable pride.

Protestantism in Turkey has already had, and will continue to have, an ameliorating, a recuperative tendency. It is the true salt taking the place of old salt that has lost much of its savour, not only in concerns of worship and dogma, but in relation to conscience and its effect upon society.

The Oriental, though living churches, lie in a state of lethargy. The Roman church has in that country a higher amount of energy imparted to it through the Patriarchate, although working upon several wrong principles; while at the time we are now considering, Protestantism, as represented by the Church of England, had not the force and vivacity that it ought to exhibit, in respect to either its national, or its distinctive doctrinal character.

From what has been now said on the subject it will be seen that in 1853 Protestantism, native and foreign,

had made considerable progress in Palestine—that it had become an appreciable element in public affairs, an element likely to rise into greater importance.[1]

Translation of a Firmân, addressed to the Vallee of Saida, the Governor of Jerusalem, and others, authorising the building of a British Consular Chapel in Jerusalem.

It has been represented, both now and before, on the part of the British embassy residing at my Court, that British and Prussian Protestant subjects visiting Jerusalem meet with difficulties and obstructions, owing to their not possessing a place of worship for the observance of Protestant rites; and it has been requested that permission should be given to erect for the first time a special Protestant place of worship within the British Consular residence at Jerusalem.

Whereas it is in accordance with the perfect amity and cordial relations existing between the Government of Great Britain and my Sublime Porte, that the requests of that Government should be complied with as far as possible; and whereas, moreover, the aforesaid place of worship is to be within the Consular residence, my Royal permission is therefore granted for the erection of the aforesaid special place of worship within the aforesaid Consular residence. And my Imperial order having been issued for that purpose, the present decree containing permission has been specially given from my Imperial divan.

When therefore it becomes known unto you, Vallee of Saida, Governor of Jerusalem, and others, as aforesaid, that our Royal permission has been granted for the erection in the manner above stated of the aforesaid place of worship, you will be care-

[1] In Jerusalem, in 1853, the congregation which assembled in the English Church was as follows:—

	Adults.	Children.
English	34	18
Jewish Christians	32	27
„ Catechumens	19	7
Arab Communicants	20	22
Prussian Congregation	21	2

ful that no person do in any manner whatever oppose the erection of the aforesaid place of worship in the manner stated, and you will not act in contravention hereof. For which purpose my Imperial Firmân is issued.

On its arrival you will act in accordance with my Imperial Firmân issued for this purpose in the manner aforesaid—be it thus known unto you, giving full faith to the Imperial cypher.

Written on the first day of Ramadan 1261 (10 Sept. 1845).

Translation of the Firmân of 1850, *granting Protection to Protestants, being Turkish Subjects.*

To my Vizier Mohammed Pashà, Minister of Police at my Capital—the honourable minister and glorious counsellor, the model of the world, and regulator of the affairs of the community, who, directing the public interests with sublime prudence, consolidating the structure of the empire with wisdom, and strengthening the columns of its prosperity and renown, is the recipient of every grace from the Most High. May God prolong his glory!

When this Sublime and August Mandate reaches you, let it be known that

Whereas hitherto those of my Christian subjects who have embraced the Protestant faith have suffered inconvenience and difficulties in consequence of their not being placed under a separate and special jurisdiction, and in consequence of the Patriarchs and Primates of their old creeds which they have abandoned, naturally not being able to administer their affairs: And whereas, in necessary accordance with my Imperial compassion which extends to all classes of my subjects, it is contrary to my Imperial pleasure that any one class of them should be exposed to trouble:

And whereas by reason of their faith, the above-mentioned already form a separate community, it is therefore my royal compassionate will, that, by all means, measures be adopted for facilitating the administration of their affairs so that they may live in peace, quiet, and security.

Let then a respectable and trustworthy person acceptable to, and chosen by, themselves from among their own members, be appointed with the title of Agent of the Protestants, who shall be attached to the department of the Minister of Police. It shall be the duty of the agent to have under his charge the register of the members of the community, which shall be kept at the police. The agent shall cause to be registered therein all births and deaths in the community. All applications for passports and marriage licences, and special transactions of the community that are to be presented at the Sublime Porte or to any other department, must be given under the official seal of his agent.

For the execution of my will, this my royal mandate and august command has been specially issued and granted from my Imperial Chancery.

Hence, you, the Minister above-named, in accordance with the explanations given, will execute to the letter the preceding ordinance; except that as the collection of the capitation tax and delivery of passports are subjected to specific regulations, you will not do anything contrary to them. You will not permit anything to be required of them on pretence of fees and expenses, for marriage licences or registrations.

You will see to it that, like the other communities of the Empire in all their affairs and all matters appertaining to their cemeteries and places of worship, they should have every facility and assistance needed. You will not permit that any of the other communities should in any way interfere with their rights or with their religious concerns, and, in short, in no wise with any of their affairs, secular or religious, that thus they may be enabled to exercise the usages of their faith in security.

And it is enjoined upon you not to allow them to be molested an iota in these particulars, or in any others, and that all attention and perseverance be put in requisition to maintain them in quiet and security. And in case of necessity, they are permitted to make representations regarding their affairs through their agent to the Sublime Porte.

When this my Imperial will shall be brought to your knowledge and appreciation, you will have this august Edict regis-

tered in the proper department, and cause it to be perpetuated in the hands of the above-mentioned subjects, and you will see to it that its requirements be always executed to their full import.

Thus be it known to thee, and respect my sacred signet!

Written in the holy month of Moharrem, A.H. 1267 (Nov. 1850).

Given in the protected city of Constantinople.

Letter from the Grand Vizier to Mehemet Pashà, Governor of Saida. Dated April 6th, 1852.

Clear information has reached us that some Catholics, dwelling in Nazareth, have assaulted two Protestant clergymen, and that the latter were unable to defend themselves or to restore or maintain peace and tranquillity in that village, inasmuch as the local Governor had not even a single agent of Police at hand:

Now his Imperial Majesty is desirous that all classes of his subjects, living under the shadow of his guardianship, should enjoy in all respects the utmost personal security and be fully protected:

Therefore, your Excellency, after verifying the facts, will forthwith place, in the above-mentioned village, a police force sufficient to assure the tranquillity of its inhabitants, and will instantly take steps to seek out, arrest and punish the persons who have dared to commit the outrage just alluded to, so as to inspire terror into like persons. And for that end, we have addressed this present letter to your Excellency.

(Signed) MUSTAFA RASHEED.

16 Jumadhi el akher, 1268.

CHAPTER VII.

TURKISH GOVERNMENT IN PALESTINE.

Pashàs—Military force—Regulars—'*Nizam*'—Irregulars—'Bashi-Bozuk'—Their pay and their duties—Taxation—Jaffa as Seaport—Law Courts—Kâdi—Mufti—Christian Evidence—Municipal Courts—Mejlis—Reforms—Arab Office-holders—Jewish 'Beth-din'—Weak points in the administration of Law—The laws in Turkey are good in themselves—Benefits of Consular vigilance—Check upon unjust rulers—Effect upon the Pashàs of Consular reports to the British Embassy at Constantinople—Progress and improvement before Crimean War—Condition of Christians materially improved before 1853—Influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—Injurious effect of Russian War, in reviving fanaticism and checking progress—Testimony of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

We have reviewed the parties in immediate collision for custody of the Sanctuaries, and in order to understand fully the condition of the country during the events to be hereafter related, we have taken also into consideration other corporate concerns. The first in importance of all must be those of the Turkish administration of government in Palestine. Let us now proceed to a sketch of the condition of the Turkish government before and up to 1856. This was carried on by a Governor from Constantinople who, until the Crimean war began, had only the rank of 'Muteserref,' or Pashà having two horse-tails, for his ensign.

He was usually spoken of as 'The Pashà.' His immediate superior was the 'Wâli' or 'Musheer' of Saida (Sidon), with three horse-tails for ensign, now

residing in Beyroot, although previous to the expulsion of the Egyptians in 1840, Jerusalem had been dependent on Damascus, whoever might be its local ruler.

The custom of the Turkish Government was to appoint Pashàs for only one year—removing them at the end of that term to some other post. The appointments were made in Constantinople in the month of March. Hitherto, as already mentioned, the Jerusalem Pashà had been only of the grade of 'Muteserref,' with ensign of two horse-tails. Now, however, the Ottoman Government had sent us for Pashà a 'Musheer,' whose higher grade entitled him to the ensign of three horse-tails—thus making Jerusalem and its Governor of equal rank with Beyroot and its Musheer, to whom the Pashàs of Jerusalem and of Acre had hitherto been subordinate. It was an unprecedented occurrence for Jerusalem to have a Musheer of its own. He was, as usual, a Turk from Constantinople, Hhâfiz Pashà by name, and he was an old man of much bodily infirmity, intent only on making the most of his office in a pecuniary sense, so long as it lasted. His age (it was said he was eighty) and decrepitude led people to suppose that in any case this would not be long.

His hungry dependent scribes, pipe-bearers, etc., who had come with their master, were as intent as he on making their fortune, and, being younger men, were able to take more active measures to that end. But the Pashà had many opportunities, without leaving his Seraglio, of exercising the Turkish adroitness which induces those under Government jurisdiction to propitiate their rulers by means of *bakhsheesh*. And his rank gave him a certain weight and influence in the country at first.

European visitors who for any object gained access through their Consulates to the Seraglio, *i.e.* the Pashà's residence, never failed to be astonished at the beggarly meanness of that mansion and its attendants, as well as at the simplicity of the mode of conducting business there, unless indeed they had previously had opportunities of seeing other Seraglios in other provinces, for all are nearly alike. His Excellency himself was free from pomp and glorification, for why should he spend money on these?

His officials were ragamuffins. The house was one hired for rent, extremely dilapidated, with its lower rooms employed as a prison for criminals, whose chains were often heard rattling, and from which region unwholesome exhalations proceeded. The reception room was poorly furnished and under some of the Pashàs paper bags were to be seen suspended on nails around the walls, each containing fiscal accounts or correspondence belonging to the place whose name was written upon it, but in a later period these were removed to another room, where the secretaries were engaged, seated cross-legged amid an admirable confusion of papers.

This state of things was, however, compatible with extreme formality and servility on the part of secretaries and officers in attendance, and oriental politeness to strangers on the part of His Excellency. It appears that some improvements have been made of late years in respect of furniture and method. As for Archives of the Pashalic, we had reason to believe that none were preserved in Jerusalem, each Pashà carrying off the papers referring to his own term of office.

The Pashalic was divided into the three 'Sanjaks'

(literally meaning 'banners'), or districts of Jerusalem, Nabloos, and Gaza, each having its own civil governor (in Nabloos and Gaza styled the 'Mutesellim,' or in Turkish the 'Kaimakâm'), its own Judge (Kâdi) and treasurer (Khaznadâr). The Pashà was understood to hold office for one year, the Kâdi for three, unless promoted elsewhere during the term.

This short tenure of office by the Pashà was doubtless intended to operate as a check upon ambitious men, who might take advantage of their high place of trust in provinces remote from the capital, and make themselves independent of the central government, as had been frequently the case in former times.

But the system had its grave disadvantages. In the majority of instances it was notorious that these officials procured their appointments by bribery of those above them, and heavy fees to be paid. They, therefore, for the most part, came to their new post in a state of hungry impoverishment, and it became an object of first importance to them to make money as fast as possible out of the province during the brief term assigned them; and this necessity repeats itself at every fresh appointment.

This recovery of wealth might be effected in sundry ways: all parties were eager to bid for the favour and advantages belonging to subordinate commissions under the new ruler, and if the agricultural revenue coming into the Constantinople Treasury was but small, it was not because the full amount was not exacted from the peasantry, but because the tax-farmers and Pashàs had the first share.

Again it was impossible for a strange Pashà, fresh

from Turkey and ignorant of the very language spoken in his territory, to become a master of the affairs there, or acquainted with the needs of the population, or even of their actual condition. This would not have mattered so much if any faithful interpreter of occurrences were at hand; but it was everybody's interest to deceive the Pashà, while seeking to attain his personal or family or faction objects.

Most helpless is each new Pashà understanding only Turkish, and aware that his removal may take place under local intrigue even within the allotted year; for intrigues proceed from not only the Arab Effendis, but also from the restless communities of rival Christians with their European supporters.

Even were such a Pashà high-minded and disinterested, yet how should he be able to cope with these difficulties? but as the class of Turks from among whom Pashàs in those days were appointed were neither high-minded nor disinterested, it was some mitigation of current evils that their administration rarely lasted more than one year. Between 1846 and 1853 I had seen six successive Pashàs within our province, of whom only one possessed any of the qualities that we should deem requisite for his office.

The ruler and the ruled alike regarded the Pashà as a mere bird of passage, too often a bird of prey on its passage; some times feared, never respected, and commonly hoodwinked by each party in turn, leaving the unremedied disorders of the place to the lot of his equally short-lived successor.

The poverty of the Turkish Government was fre-

quently a cause of difficulty in the administration of public affairs.

The troops were in arrears of pay because there was no money in the Public Treasury. The Government officials often were kept long waiting for their salary. Public works, necessary repairs, were neglected for the same reason. Stores and supplies could not be laid in at the right season, or if laid in, payment for them was deferred.

And yet the land was fertile—and large sums were levied upon the peasants as taxes.

But the money did not find its way into the Treasury of the Sultan. Bashi-Bozuk collectors, tax-farmers, and local or Turkish governors absorbed a large proportion.

One who had the best opportunities for observation wrote at that time:—'The Turkish Government have no moral power, the state of their army and finances deprive them of a physical one in a country where passion prevails over reason, and where religion and public opinion, such as it is, appear rather to develope than to check enmity and dissension.' And again he touches upon graver defects:—'The misconduct of the Turkish authorities who have been sent to Syria—their want of education and of talent, their entire ignorance of public opinion, would alone render them unfit uncontrolled to govern the country.'

These words were written before the progress of events had raised up a class of well-educated Pashàs. They applied with strict truth to such men as were sent to govern Jerusalem before the Crimean War. They were written in the very province afterwards so ably governed

by Daood Pashà (a Christian), whose high polish, urbane manners, and varied learning (including a thorough knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language and literature) so delighted Tristram when he visited the Lebanon twenty years after the above words had been written, descriptive of the class of men who were then the rulers of the provinces of Turkey.[1]

Military Force, Regulars and Irregulars—Taxation.

The Nizâm, or regular military force for the whole Pashalic, consisted of one battalion of infantry, generally deficient in number, stationed at Jerusalem, and in those days commanded by a 'Bin-bashi,' whose rank was equal to our major. We never had any regular cavalry or proper artillery, and these Nizâm were independent of our Pashà's control. The Bin-bashi might, indeed, place them at his disposal, on application being made in written formality, countersigned by other functionaries of civil administration, either for display at special times, or for menace of turbulent peasantry, but never for actual fighting—this latter service would require express permission for each single occasion from the 'Seri-asker,' or commander-in-chief at Damascus. How different from the

[1] Besides Tristram, other travellers have come in contact with Pashàs of the new school, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe has added his testimony to theirs. He tells us that even in the later years of his residence in Constantinople 'A Turk of good manners who can talk French, who has visited the chief cities of Christendom and has some acquaintance with European literature, is no longer, as in the last century, a phœnix or a black swan. The Greeks have ceased to monopolise the main channel of communication between the Porte and the foreign ambassadors at Constantinople. The functions of chief interpreter are performed by a Mussulman.' (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 'The Nineteenth Century,' p. 737.)

old Pashàs of Anatolia or Yanina! when their soldiers might sing—

> Since the days of the Prophet the world never saw
> A chieftain so glorious as 'Ali Pashà!

About half-a-dozen men in Nizâm uniform, with a subaltern officer, served the iron guns upon the castle walls for firing salutes. These men were our artillery corps.

In July of this year we find only 120 regulars in Jerusalem, the rest having gone to Hebron. But the available force of government was that of the 'Bashi-bozuk,' or 'Hawâra' (the latter being their Arabic designation), who have been rightly described as the 'irregular soldiery with irregular pay'—horsemen without uniform, a ragged and disorderly set; these were always at the disposal of the Pashà, and mostly employed in delivering messages of government service among the towns or villages, or in serving writs of summons to the Shaikhs, or in collecting the taxes. They were stationed at the leading towns as required.[1] Travellers and artists used to delight themselves in the wild and beggarly appearance of these tatterdemalions and their accoutrements, making, as they did, picturesque subjects for journals or albums; and should the delineator, verbal or linear, chance to have witnessed some of their simple evolutions, when acting together as a body, so much the more 'telling' would his descriptions be at home.

But the lax and corrupt system on which that military corps was conducted, although so much of govern-

[1] This arm of military service has been re-organised of late, as we are told, and arrayed in uniform by the Turks under the name of Seyâra in Arabic, or something that is meant to imitate the French name of 'gens d'armes.'

ment action depended upon it, and the amount to which the revenue was defrauded through its own incompetency to punish these men, or even bring them to a reckoning, could not be perceived by a casual tourist over the country—it could only be guessed from their shaggy appearance.

The Pashà would be commissioned to engage a certain number of Bashi-bozuk within his province, according to the exigency of circumstances. The largest number that I have known on service was nominally 600; that number was divided into four troops, and each of these subdivided into ten companies, but seldom could more than half the roll be mustered.

The captains (agas) having purchased their commissions from Damascus or Constantinople, by direct bribery, would have to recover the outlay. But they were badly paid, for almost all arms of military service were far in arrear of pay; and these people used opportunities, which the Nizâm were without, of reimbursing themselves freely, either by violent exactions on the peasantry, or by frauds on the government accounts—the latter mode, particularly in the way of diminishing the number of men employed, while all the time drawing on the local treasury for full pay and rations, was very common, and as the men were scattered about, the cheat was not easily detected.

Upon the rare occasions of the Pashà calling out the Bashi-bozuk for inspection, or his summoning them for sudden duty, nothing was easier than for the captains to hire for the time the required complement from those unemployed men of dissolute habits of life, unattached and loafing about—the Aga knew where to find them.

They might be half-starved lads of sixteen, or weazened old men—all the same for his purpose; no uniform was required; any scraggy, ill-fed horse was sufficient for use, as well as any sort of weapon for exhibition at a distance, such as a pair of old pistols, or an odd one, or a rusty musket—so rusted that the bayonet at the end of it, if there were one, could not be wrenched off; or a spear, with its long broken handle spliced up with twine. One weapon only seemed to be indispensable, and that was a sword, the curved sabre of the East.

Supplementaries of this kind were sometimes unprovided at the moment of call with a horse, they having since the last employment sold it, or pawned it, or gambled it away. In such a case the Aga would advance him one at tally-price, to be deducted out of the pay, miserable even when it is paid. But what was the pay of even the best men, of fellows in good health, having warm clothes, a good horse, and pretty fair weapons of their own, for of such there were some?

The full salary allowed by Government was seventy-five piastres per month (then about twelve shillings and sixpence), with fifteen barley loaves a week, of detestable quality, served out from Friday to Friday. Out of this allowance the soldier had to provide his own horse, with saddle and bridle, horse-shoes, nose-bag and saddle-bags; but the government stores supplied barley for the horse (oats are unknown in the East). Could the man subsist upon this? Impossible—and he did not; yet a thorough Hawâra was gluttonised on good things, but how was this done?

He had been despatched (usually three or four went

together) to a village, with a government message—perhaps a distress warrant, common enough. On his arrival there to billet himself, the people, in abject terror, derived from past experience, flee away; but if this be impossible, they come forward, assist the gentleman in dismounting, put his horse into the best place they have, establish him in the best house, get together the best cushions to form a divân for his repose, and in all haste bring the very best food that can be had—as fowls, sheep's-tail (the delicious *leeyeh*), and fresh eggs; also fruits according to the season, as grapes, melons, or pomegranates; and if the village be a Christian one, or near to such, *raki* spirit is procured for him to drink—the whole party is treated in the same way, living, according to the old English proverb, 'at rack and manger.' The visitors smoke their pipes, call each other Agas, and the more days the merrier for them to live on free quarters.

At their departure, the business being settled, the poor victims cram the pockets and saddle-bags of the Aga-company for the journey. I have known instances from report of these licensed miscreants arriving at a village, fully supplied from the last station of their visitation, and when the unhappy people presented their best delicacies, kick away that choice *pilaf*, or the lamb roasted whole, into the dust, and demand in place of these a sum of money as its value, assessed by themselves, and then feed upon what they had brought in their saddle-bags.

Well might the people fear the approach of such messengers, and that very prestige of dread which cleared the way before them, was a weapon of greater force than any display of military arms that could be made. And

should the Pashà and his council by any possibility hear of these doings, the complaint would be in due form received, and the captain asked in mellifluent Turkish if his men had not been maligned by the rude fellahheen: he would then, with a graceful salute, promise to enquire into the circumstances; but woe to the place from which the accusation proceeded, so much the greater woe as the men who had been the offenders were often foreigners to the country—pitiless Bosnians or Koords.

These Hawâra had occasionally other employment on hand, such as escorting European travellers who pay and feed well, besides the countless ingenuities of extortion which Asiatic customs admit of, among the natives. They cared little for their officers; everyone styled his fellow, and was called in return, an Aga, except in the real Aga's presence; and one and all were at liberty any day or at any hour to abandon the service—there being no stipulated period of engagement, there could be no such crime as desertion. Their military training was meagre enough, almost limited to a deploying from close to open order, or wildly scattering like locusts, then gathering into a body at a given signal, evolutions capable certainly of being turned to excellent account when required, which with us was never the case. The men had, however, some amount of emulation among them in the riding practice of their peculiar style, and throwing and catching the *jereed*.

I had almost forgotten to mention their only martial music, namely a pair of diminutive kettle-drums, each perhaps a little larger than an English breakfast cup, beaten by short leathern straps, during which operation

the performer holds the reins of his horse between his teeth; more than one such drummer might be found in each troop, and this music gave notice in advance to any village or town of their approach; these instruments they call *trompeta*; the Arab population call them *tubleh* (a corruption of the Turkish word *tavool*, a drum), but Europeans unceremoniously call them *tom-toms*, as if they belonged to mere African savages. The effect, however, was wild and even exciting when heard from a distance among the hills.

More has been here said than was intended, about the Bashi-bozuk, having in view the special importance of that force in carrying on the mechanism of government throughout the country. Ridicule and opprobrious epithets are sometimes directed from the populace to the Nizâm regulars; but no one ventures to behave saucily to the Bashi-bozuk-askeri. The Nizâm are harmless beyond the city walls, but the others are ubiquitous and acquainted with the country.[1]

Before quitting this subject, it should be observed that by the Tanzimât of the Empire it is unlawful to employ military in the collection of taxes; but the authorities interpret the word *military* to mean the Nizâm, and the Bashi-bozuk, when engaged in this service, only compel the payment of arrears by every and any means, hardly short of violence of hands or weapons.

Taxation in Palestine was not burdensome when kept within the legal limits, the principal branch of which con-

[1] And yet these Bashi-bozuk make excellent soldiers under proper officers—as we saw during the Crimean War, when a corps of Bashi-bozuk was placed under the command of British officers.

sists in the Sultan's tithe of produce, and the military compensation for exemption from military service, *i.e.* the Mâl-miri and the Mâl-askeri.

These had been revived and fixed during the Egyptian occupation, and I have before me an authenticated copy of the registered assessment for each place within the Pashalic; but the Turks, since their return, have never taken the trouble to adjust the assessment to the shifting circumstances of the period; the consequence has been an inequality of burden to an alarming degree, some places which had made considerable advance in prosperity, during twenty or twenty-five years, remaining still charged as when they had been in their lower condition; while others were highly taxed although nearly deserted of inhabitants from their land being exposed to raids of wild Arabs, which was not the case under the strong government of the Egyptians, when the assessment was last adjusted.

There were minor taxes which gradually increased in number, such as the 'Jeleb' on cattle, and the 'Damga' on stamps—the latter ingeniously applied to tailors and shoemakers, who were not allowed to sell new wares without the articles being stamped by the collector, besides, of course, the Customs dues at the sea-ports, which were not excessive; but all these calling for honest supervision among the officials, and of such supervision there was none.

Jerusalem city was exempted from military service, as it is one of the three holy cities of the Mohammedans, and therefore free from even exemption fees; but the Christians there conceived themselves ill-used in being compelled to pay substitution for military service, in which

neither there nor elsewhere were they allowed to serve personally. It was a poor compensation for them all over the country to be delivered from the odium of the capitation military tax (Kharâj), when a larger amount was substituted under another name for the same. But, on the other hand, the amount of this tax was small, and the Christians had no wish whatever to become soldiers.

Certain dues and Customs duties were levied at the gates of Jerusalem, if they had not been already paid at the seaport of Jaffa—for the port of Jerusalem is Jaffa, thirty-five miles off by ordinary road.

Jaffa cannot, however, be said to have a port, properly so called, and yet a good deal of shipping trade is carried on there. English and foreign ships come there for grain. We have known there to be, at one and the same time, three English vessels and one Maltese taking in grain—wheat, millet, and sesamé—besides an iron ship of 300 tons (also English), taking in corn for Cork and Falmouth, a Norwegian bark had taken in corn for Ireland in the same week.

Soap factories, oil stores, and houses were built, the stones being brought by sea from the ruins of ancient Cæsarea and Athleet. Olive oil is also exported, and Germans, as well as other Europeans and Americans, had settled there in order to carry on trade and agriculture.[1]

There is but little trade and no commerce in Jerusalem. The trade is limited to the dealings of those who supply the wants, not so much of the residents (for the Oriental residents have few absolute wants that are not

[1] Very great progress has been made in every respect since the Crimean War, and the population has much more than doubled.

supplied by the produce of the district immediately surrounding) as of the Christian pilgrims and of the European settlers. European goods are brought into the city in quantities yearly on the increase.

The only manufacture in Jerusalem is that of soap, for which the olive oil and the alkali, both native products, supply the materials. The soap is imported chiefly to Egypt.

But although Jerusalem is not a commercial emporium, a prodigious amount of money is annually poured into the city from Europe. None however goes out, except, of course, to the Turkish treasury, and the comparatively small amount needed for trade. The larger proportion of the money which arrives is poured by the pilgrims into the treasuries of the great Christian Convents, where it remains.

The coins of all nations were, and still are, current in Jerusalem. This was partly owing to the fact that pilgrims of all nations brought with them sums of greater or less amount in ready cash—the fruits of their lifelong savings for the purposes of the pilgrimage. Moreover, as there were at that time no banks and no commerce, properly so called, remittances were generally made to the Convents, to the Government, and to Europeans, in specie.

The various coins had a fluctuating value, different at one time from another, and all and each different in the different towns and villages. In Jerusalem there was the government value, generally depreciated by proclamation about the time when public taxes were leviable. There was also the merchant or trader's value, and the value

current in the markets. Besides this there were differences to be allowed for on account of light weight and other causes. Great confusion and loss was occasioned by all these sources of perplexity in money transactions and in the daily dealings of life.

Law Courts and the Administration of Justice.

We now proceed to the administration of justice in the Courts of Law.

Every town has its judge, a native of the country (except at Jerusalem), who decides causes on the principles of the Korân and its Commentaries, as far as he is acquainted with them. These minor judges are appointed by the Kâdi of the next capital city, who is himself commissioned by purchase from Constantinople for a term of three years, the scale of purchase rising from that of the lowest appointment up to the highest, which is Baghdad, and Jerusalem stands rather high upon the ladder.

The Kâdi's court is called the 'Makhkămeh,' and the judge receives a fee of three per cent. upon the value of suits decided, to be paid by the gainer in the cause. Now-a-days, however, the Kâdis complain of their fees falling off considerably, on account of the modern institution of Municipal Courts, called the 'Mejlis,' and even of the Consular Courts, into which mixed cases are often carried. Yet matters of Moslem religion, and of inheritance, or of fixed property, must necessarily go to the Makhkămeh.

These Kâdis and their courts are notorious, and always have been so (see 'Arabian Nights' *passim*, and

elsewhere), for the prevalence of bribery, jealousy, favouritism, interested intercession, etc.

The suborning of false testimony from men waiting at the door for employment in perjury, for even a trifling pay, is a matter of frequent occurrence; and the failings of the Kâdi give a zest to social conversation, or to poems or narrations at the coffee-houses: so much so that among Christians who occasionally get pork to eat, the pig's head, when brought to table, is in mockery designated the 'Kâdi's head.' No wonder then that the natives repair rather to the local Mejlis, with all its imperfections, which are many, or, when the case admits of it, to a European Consul.

Besides the Kâdi there is a more permanent functionary of Mohammedan law, entirely independent of the judge, called the Mufti. He has no court, but is rather a consultative judge at home. He is often a native of the place, and appointed in Constantinople at the Governor's recommendation. Individuals may have recourse to him, and even the Kâdi will, in dubious matters, send to him a slip of paper from the tribunal. In every case of consultation, merely the abstract law is asked for, without mention of the parties concerned—fictitious names being used in describing the case (generally Zaid and 'Omar), a practice somewhat analogous to our writs formerly issued in the name of John Doe and Richard Doe, or as the Jews in business take the names of Reuben and Simeon, in accordance with Genesis xlviii. 5.

The Mufti's reply is the 'Fetwa,' for which he charges no stated fee, but accepts a present instead—indeed, no proportionate fee could be assigned to a cause unknown.

One of the Muftis lived in Jerusalem many years, and he was a just, upright man.

These are the Mohammedan forms of legal procedure. The principle of a jury is unknown to their law.

Christian evidence could not be received in the Moslem Courts, presided over by the Kâdi. That court was theoretically a Court of Equity, governed by Divine Authority, from whom the Korân laws there administered had emanated.

In order to preserve the purity of the evidence admissible, it was necessary that 'unbelievers,' who must of necessity, according to this theory, be untrustworthy witnesses, should be incapable of giving legal evidence. Hence the exclusion of Christian evidence. However plausible this theory, the injustice to non-Moslems was manifest. It was impossible, in many cases, for Christians to find two Moslem witnesses, and in practice Moslem witnesses were found hostile to Christians. How then was justice to be obtained for Christians and non-Moslems? Let those who can understand what it would cost a sincere son of the Church of Rome to acknowledge any modification of the authority of the Pope as Vicar of Christ, or a simple devout Russian to suppose that any power, sacred or profane, could be competent to dispute the will of the Autocrat who is to him God's earthly vicegerent—let such a one estimate the difficulty of getting a zealous and fanatic Moslem in Jerusalem—the Holy City, next after Mecca and Medina—to conceive of any authority or power, material or moral, which ought to supersede the religious authority of the Kâdi, or judge appointed by the Moslem Supreme Ruler at Constantinople, so long as that

ruler stands to him in the place of the Caliph, or Head of his, the only true, religion! The difficulty was greater in the Holy City, Jerusalem—to which, according to Moslem belief, Mohammed and our Lord Jesus Christ are to return at the day of judgment and final triumph of Islâm—when that destiny, which is to give a short-lived previous ascendancy to Christians, shall have been fulfilled. And yet this great difficulty has been surmounted. The Kâdi's Court could not be altered in its essential character, or in the fundamental principles by which its laws were administered. But other courts could be created. There was in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, a Mejlis, or Council for deliberation of Notables, and these were invested with *quasi-judicial* functions in matters relating to non-Moslems. The Pashà, or Governor, presided over these civil courts.

The march of events urged by pressure from without has developed these Councils into municipal Courts of the notables ('Ayân), held in each town or province, which admit a scanty proportion of non-Moslems (all of whom must be Turkish subjects) to a share of judgment in trade questions, or affairs of mixed jurisdiction. At the period we are speaking of, there was but one such Court in Jerusalem, which was called *the* Mejlis (Session), and this performed the duties of both Judge and Jury, passing sentence by majority of votes. The time had not then arrived for separating the functions into a Felony Mejlis, a Commercial Mejlis, a Mejlis of primary investigation, and lastly the Great Mejlis. To all these tribunals, when so constituted, the officials of Consulates had access in the capacity of accusers or advocates on

behalf of their clients. These various Courts were established by degrees and in conformity with the new laws, promulgated from time to time, and at length collected into a Code of Secular as distinguished from Sacred (Korân) Jurisprudence.

Considerable reforms, particularly in the moral character of the general population and the upper classes, must yet take place before these Courts can in any way be assimilated to Christian Courts in Europe. It will be necessary for even the native Christian members themselves to act up to the privileges of their office, and not suffer themselves to be bullied down into consent of unrighteous verdicts at the dictation of the Moslem members, as they still are. The proportion of Christians and Jews in each Mejlis is but small.[1]

[1] Lord Stratford de Redcliffe makes the following statements on the legal reforms in Turkey:—

'The Korân is far from being that inelastic code of laws which many suppose. It has long ceased to be an exact mirror of Islamism as practised by the Ottoman authorities. The difference which has perceptibly grown up between the letter and the practice of the law is not merely one of suspension, such as the disuse of hostilities for the propagation of the faith, but positively active, as in the case of treaties and alliances with Christian powers. This primary departure from the system of policy prescribed by Islamism dates from the sixteenth century. Solyman the Magnificent, and Francis I., of France, first set the example of an alliance between the sovereign of the Turks and a Christian Power. The act was founded on mutual convenience suggested by their respective international positions at the time. It led to the establishment of similar relations between the Porte and other European powers, to the reception of Consuls in the out ports of Turkey, and to the exercise of jurisdiction by them over their own fellow-subjects. It was the first link in a series of concessions which may fairly be called *extra-Koranic*, and which were gradually made to the necessity more and more felt by the Porte of obtaining a less isolated position as to the States of Christendom.' (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in the 'Nineteenth Century,' p. 730.)

'The process of reform, skilfully introduced, was fostered by the same able statesman. One measure after another was brought forward and adopted till the proclamation of *Gulhané*, and the introduction of extensive reforms

In continuation of this subject it should be mentioned that a close corporation of Arab families, not recognised by law, but influential by position, usurped all the municipal offices among them. These men were mostly descended

under the name of *Tanzimat-Hairieh*, gave a solemn and imposing earnest of Mahmoud's sincerity. They laid the foundations of a real improvement in the Turkish administrative system, and more especially in the treatment of rayahs, non-Mussulman subjects bound to pay a yearly poll-tax to the Grand Seignior. Further and more decided measures of reform were subsequently adopted. Those of a judicial character were not the least important. A court was established for the trial of civil causes between the Porte's subjects and foreigners. It was a mixed tribunal, taking cognisance more particularly of differences arising in trade and navigation. Its maxims of law and rules of procedure were derived from Christian sources. Our leading principles and forms of trial, exclusive of juries, were even admitted by firmân in some of the criminal courts: and at Constantinople, in the highest of those courts where Mohammedan law prevailed, our Consul-general was allowed to sit with the power of watching the proceedings, and staying for his assent the execution of judgment on behalf of British subjects brought to trial on capital charges.

'To these beneficial innovations are to be added the establishment of lazarettos for quarantine against plague and cholera; the suppression of the negro slave trade, with a view to that of slavery; the abolition of torture and of capital punishment in cases of conversion from Islamism; and the recognition of Protestantism as one of the protected and established religions of Turkey.

'During the Crimean war a notable enlargement took place in other branches of social progress, inconsistent more or less with the restrictions of Mussulman law, but required by the necessities of the Empire. . . . . On the cessation of hostilities, all previous reforms, together with important additions, were confirmed and declared by an Imperial proclamation known as *Hatt-y-homayoon*, solemnly promulgated, and inserted, as a fact, in the general treaty of peace. Among its new provisions were two in particular characterised by a liberality which it would not be easy to surpass. By one the faculty of holding land in fee throughout Turkey was granted to foreign subjects, with a reserve of some preliminary arrangements. By the other both natives and foreigners were allowed full liberty of conscience in religious matters. These are facts, and we are bound to give them our candid and serious attention. They remove a part of the difficulty which Islamism opposes in theory to the reformation of the Turkish Empire on European principles. They encourage a hope that the remaining obstacles may be gradually surmounted.' (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 'Nineteenth Century,' p. 731.)

from the original conquerors of the country in our seventh century. Some of them hold hereditary posts conferred on their families by the Caliph 'Omar, such as Mohammed Danef in the Hharam, Mohammed Durweesh at the Sepulchre of David, and another at the gate of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Then there are the Khâldi, the Wafa (besides other descents of lesser note, as the 'Assali), all enjoying the title of Effendi (a Turkish designation), or in their own phraseology '*'Ayân*,' *i.e.* auxiliaries. These form the aristocracy of Jerusalem.

Most of these families have territorial property attached to their duties, by virtue of which they hold certain villages or groups of villages in a species of serfdom, in return for correlative benefits enjoyed by the peasants by the advocacy of those Effendis in the civic Councils. From such sources the Effendis derive annual supplies for the house, in grain, fruit, fowls, lambs, butter, and oil.

But immensely fortunate are those of the inner circle, who from long usage, or from peculiar talents, have become the recognised advocates for the greater Christian convents, since the fees thus derived are liberal in the extreme.

The families of this permanent class intermarry exclusively with each other, and must be carefully distinguished by us from the few transient Turkish officials, who form technically 'the government,' so transient that they often leave their families in Constantinople, and are helpless in effective administration against or without the local knowledge and corporate union of these Arab 'Ayân, of whom indeed several Pashàs have had to stand in awe.

The native Jewish community is allowed the privilege of holding its own 'House of Judgment' (Beth Din) in civil and religious matters; and their principal Rabbi is generally a recognised official, as its Chief Judge, in consideration of a large fee at the Porte, when the funds of his community can afford it. This Court is permitted within certain limits to carry out its own verdicts. But European Jews are regarded, for all law purposes, as Europeans, without reference to religion.

Much that seemed to us Europeans anomalous in the government of the country, arose from inveterate and traditional ideas peculiar to the East.

For instance, the absence of feeling that a thief ought to be punished for *the crime* of stealing (as against the Commonwealth), beyond the restitution of the property stolen (with addition, by way of fine, if the case is decided in the village according to Agrarian Law).

When appeal was made to a Turkish tribunal by an European through his Consul, the offender was denounced, and after a time, more or less, apprehended. The Council (after hearing) declared him guilty. After long delay, and repayment of value—often by instalments—he was released, and the authorities bragged of their effectual punishment of the offence.

And yet this course of procedure had a deterrent effect: the persistence of Europeans in carrying on a cause has always a good moral effect. The criminal, on the other hand, had not only the punishment of detention in prison till restitution was made, but found to his cost that some bribe (or *fee*) had to be paid to every Government

official, down to the lowest policeman, before he could hope to be free.

The loss of liberty was bad; the loss of money, generally from some ill-gotten hoard, was far worse; and he who had been subjected to these took care how he risked exposing himself to such misfortunes in the future. Theft is, however, thus as a moral iniquity slurred over, in the same manner as murder, which is regarded as a private personal offence, to be atoned for by a pecuniary satisfaction to the relatives (unless they claim satisfaction by blood). Murder is thus not treated as a state offence: it is no injury to the public welfare.

There was once a case of burglary and murder in the village of Lifta; the criminals were brought to trial, and upon the clearest evidence convicted: no doubt remained upon the subject. But the Pashà kept them chained in the seraglio, without further punishment, of either capital execution or banishment to the public works. What was the reason of the delay? 'Because,' said his Excellency, 'if I get rid of them we shall never discover where they have hid the money that was stolen.' And the Pasha was acting in accordance with public opinion!

Another source of weakness in the Turkish administration of government lay in the apparent justice, based on Moslem principles, of awarding no punishment to anybody unless an individual were accused, and proved to be guilty. This was of recent introduction.

Under former régimes, strictly in accordance with the principles of justice as understood by the population, a highway robbery would be visited upon the nearest

village, or on the district which was held to be actually responsible for the safety of its own neighbourhood, and for the good conduct of its own people, after the fashion of dealing with the old Saxon 'Hundreds.' Now that is all changed, no amercement of the kind is made; the Turks are too indolent to make research, but tell the complainant, 'You find the offender, and bring him to us, and see how we will punish him.'

In fact it is no novelty to observe that good laws of one state of society, in one country, are liable to be productive of positive evil in a different condition of circumstances and morals.

Where sound morality of conscience in the people, with vigilant and honourable administration of law among the rulers, are to be found, there a strictly personal responsibility is just and fair.

But where the country is half a wilderness, the people set up in factions or religions adverse to each other, the government timid, and perjury common as daily food, a long process of preparation had to be carried on before the system of European jurisprudence could be fully adapted to the country.

Yet with all their incompleteness, it must be said that the regulations from Constantinople are a blessing to the inhabitants. They are far better now than the original laws of the Twelve Tables were to the Romans; yet the Romans are regarded as the great nation of antiquity characterised by the practice of jurisprudence.

Palestine and Turkey in general are far advanced above the horribly lawless condition of government not yet effaced from the memory of the existing people.

EDITOR'S POSTSCRIPT TO CHAPTER VII.

STRANGE as it may sound to European ears, it is nevertheless true, that the laws under which Palestine (and Turkey generally) was governed, are in themselves excellent. They are based upon the principles of justice and of humanity—justice for true believers more particularly—humanity for all.

But the difficulty was to get them justly administered. This, however, could be done, and was done whenever Europeans were concerned.

If the Consul had taken the trouble to master and understand the laws and usages of town and country; if he was vigilant, industrious, and firm; if he was known to be impartially supported by his own government superiors, in Turkey and in London, the native and Turkish authorities uniformly attached weight to his representations.

They always attended to a man who knew how to persevere quietly and patiently without loss of temper. When once they understood that applications and representations would not cease to be made till justice was done, that there was no such thing as wearying out the Consul, or throwing dust in his eyes as to law or fact, they gave way, and thus it came to pass that, a reputation for steadfast perseverance being once established, the authorities found out and learned that it saved them trouble to attend to the Consul at first instead of at last; and then they made up their minds that it was in reality easier to give prompt redress, than to be harassed by pertinacious, though respectful, importunity.

This process being continued and kept up year after

year, a certain prestige grew up around the British Consulate, and successive Pashàs came to understand that the simplest and best plan was to attend to business at once, to do it well, and thus to secure peace and comfort for themselves.

The Orientals used to say that there was nothing that so wrought upon them as the total absence of bully and bluster—the quiet, patient firmness they could not withstand.

As for the Pashàs and their treatment of the subjects of the Sultan, both Moslem and Christian, there was another check to which they had never before been subjected. Public opinion there was and could be none in an Oriental country without newspapers, public meetings, or communication with the outer world, hitherto governed by despotic power, even though greatly modified as in Palestine by the weight allowed, for the sake of convenience, to native chiefs of districts, clans, or tribes, who were *de facto* the governors under the Turkish Pashà, in the country; and to the chiefs of the religious communities in the towns, who were left to govern and be responsible for—their several and respective communities.

But when Europeans, enjoying treaty rights and immunities, settled among them, it was found that a check forming an excellent substitute for public opinion could be brought to bear, and that it was brought to bear with more and more stringency and effect.

The application of this check grew up by degrees and by the force of circumstances. Turkish officials discovered that any misconduct of theirs, any breach of

the laws, any infringement on their part of 'the benevolent and humane intentions' of his Majesty the Sultan, were reported at head-quarters in a dry matter-of-fact way, as a matter of business routine, by people part of whose business it was to sit and take note of daily occurrences. And these were people who could be neither bribed nor bullied, nor worried into silence.

It was not till after the Crimean war that Pashàs found out that revenge could after all be wreaked against Englishmen who saw too much, and reported too much of the truth; and that the old, old tactics of playing off one against the other could be successfully practised, even in this matter, by anyone daring and audacious enough to avail himself skilfully of opportunities and instruments.

It had been foreseen that the greatest of all difficulties in the way of getting the Sultan's reforms carried out would be in the executive—that unless some method could be devised for inducing corrupt officials to carry out the new reforms granted by the Sultan, at the instance of our Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, they would and must remain a dead letter; for laws must remain a dead letter if there be none who claim their enforcement.

The non-Moslem natives were not in a position to do so. Mutual jealousies among the various churches of the Christians prevented their acting with any chance of success, either together or independently. They rather, in their blind folly, brought Moslem and Turkish pressure to bear upon all whom they considered rivals, or desired to keep in subjection.

Again, the timidity and slavish weakness which had resulted from long ages of servitude and bondage had deprived the Christians as well as the Jews (and this not only in the more remote places) of all idea of bettering their condition by any effort of their own.

The scene at Acre when the word Ghiaour was applied to a Christian in the presence of the Pashà, and no Christian or Jew present so much as thought of remonstrating against this breach of law, will serve to illustrate how the very people who were to be benefited by the laws of toleration were too ignorant to understand the boon conferred upon them, too timid to make the slightest appeal to what had been done in their behalf.

The ruler and the ruled alike needed to be trained in the path wherein they should go, and this could only be a gradual process, carried on with patience and moderation.

The promoter of the reforms had, however, ready to his hand the machinery by which this process could be effected, provided only that jealousies and intrigues were not fomented by people who had no intention of themselves encouraging any reforms—who had no wish to see civil and religious liberty for all creeds alike grow up within the Turkish Empire—liberty that would gradually, from within and in a peaceful manner, evoke forces capable of quickening ancient nations and churches into a new life and an irresistible activity, which could only result in their complete emancipation from thraldom, by whomsoever imposed, and from tyranny, whether exercised in the name of Mohammedanism or Christianity.

Between the promulgation of the Edict of Gul-Hané in 1838, and the end of the Crimean war, the British

Consular service within the Turkish Empire had been greatly strengthened.

All British Consuls and Vice-Consuls were officially informed of the various measures for reforming the administration of justice, and for securing civil and religious liberty among all classes of his Majesty the Sultan's subjects. They were directed to be observant as to the working of the new system, and to keep the British Ambassador and our own Government fully informed on all points connected with the same.

While abstaining from interference between the Turkish officials and the subjects of the Sultan, they were to note events as they occurred, to take time and trouble in quietly ascertaining the truth of each individual case in which injustice was alleged to have been done.

Having done this, they were to report fully to their own superiors, and if the case were urgent, they were instructed to visit the Governor or Pashà privately (for of course it was a part of the duty of Consuls, while carefully maintaining their own rank and independence, to be on cordial terms with the representatives of the Turkish Government, and to uphold their authority and dignity in every way). In the course of the private visit they were to mention to his Excellency that such and such facts had come to their knowledge, and remind them that his Majesty the Sultan in his benevolence desired perfect justice for all his subjects, that it would grieve him to hear of any case in which even the meanest had suffered wrong, etc., etc.

Possibly the Pashàs might not heed so gentle an

appeal—especially if a sum of money was at the moment in his purse or bureau, or known to be on the point of finding its way thither—expressly for the purpose of securing his action respecting the case then pending, in a sense neither just nor humane.

A very few months, however, served to show his mistake to a Pashà who might have yielded to the seductive influences of the proffered bribe, and strayed into the too well known paths of oppression of the innocent.

The Consul had said but little to him, it is true, and that little in the gentle tones of one who had no authority to do more than speak of things that were beyond his province to remedy.

But after a few weeks had come and gone, and by the time that the case, with all the Consul's quiet words, had been pretty well forgotten, the arrival of the Turkish post from Constantinople would bring a letter, written in the phraseology of command, and calling for explanations and details and proofs, and the Pashà found that his own Government were in possession of far more knowledge of the case in question than himself or his secretaries, in their ignorance of the country, and the people, and the language. How could a Turkish Pashà in those days become acquainted with any of them all during his brief tenure of office?

The poor Pashà found that when the Consul had ceased to talk to him, he had gone home and had written to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (and if it were a serious case, to London also, where Lord Palmerston dwelt), and that a Report had been handed to the Grand Vizier, and that his august master, the Sultan,

had been angered by the information that one of his Pashàs should have presumed to render null, by his 'neglect,' the benevolent intentions of the Sovereign even to the meanest of his subjects.

But Pashàs who had lived a lifetime in ignorance of the first principles of liberty, and who were some of them fanatics of the old school, could not be expected to profit by the first lesson or two. Indeed some of them (in those days before schools and colleges had sprung up in the Turkish Empire) were so ignorant that they could not read their despatches from Constantinople for themselves, but were dependent upon secretaries, who read them for them, and wrote the replies. Now a secretary might be afraid or unwilling to tell his master all that was in the dispatch from Constantinople. He might be 'retained on the other side,' and trust to his own ingenuity, and perhaps to the help of others, also 'on the other side,' for some way of throwing dust into the eyes of the powers at Constantinople, and the Pashà, his master, refreshed by further 'presents,' might acquiesce in the preparation of a reply to Constantinople, giving a wholly different version of the case in question.

But alas! the silent reporter at the Consulate was also at work, and the same post carried both letters—those of the Consul with those of the Pashà—at the same time, or rather by the same steamer, for the Consul made sure that his dispatches should be neither tampered with nor delayed in the transmission by employing his own mounted kawwâs as postman to the seaport town, and by entrusting even to him no dispatches but those that were closed up in bags, sealed with the British arms, and addressed to

the British Consul at the seaport, whose business it was to examine the seals, and finding them intact, to deliver the enclosed dispatches (which were of course all also carefully sealed) to the postal authorities.

And the Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, was not easily wearied or baffled when in pursuit of justice and liberty for the oppressed. The substance of the Consul's reports found their way to the Grand Vizier, or whomsoever they most concerned; and if the discrepancies were found to be flagrant, further inquiries were instituted; and it sometimes happened that the Pashà found out, too late, that he would have been a richer and a happier man had he only given heed at first to the few simple words addressed to him by the Consul in private, for the facts were indeed even as he had then told him; but that now there was no longer opportunity for him to render justice.

He was removed from his post—whether to an inferior one elsewhere—whether to no post at all anywhere—mattered not very much. The Pashà was removed, and removal meant loss of money. All that he had spent in fees (bribes), perhaps during a long course of years, while he worked his way up to promotion, was gone—wasted.

He had to begin again—to borrow afresh from the Armenian money-dealers in Constantinople (to whom he was already heavily in debt)—to sink fresh sums of money—to spend weary months in attendance on his patrons, whoever they might happen to be, and to learn by bitter experience that he was a marked man, however gently his own Government might have let him down.

The Pashàs learned that their august master, the Sultan, really did mean that his subjects should enjoy tranquillity, and that the great British Elchi had means of keeping him informed as to whether his benevolent intentions were carried out, or whether they were frustrated; and in his next post the Pashà found the same machinery at work.

By the time that the Crimean War broke out, the vigilance and industry of the British authorities had produced an appreciable effect. Not only were the representations made by British Consuls to the Pashàs found to be strictly trustworthy as to fact, but it was found altogether easier and better to obviate further trouble by attending to them promptly.

Great was the change in the condition of all native Christians and Jews, wherever this system was at work. A few more years, and the non-Moslems of the East would have grown happy and prosperous, and would have needed neither defender nor champion, for they would have been strong enough to take care of themselves.

But what would then have become of the champions?

At any rate the war broke out. For peaceable reforms violent measures were substituted, old fanaticisms on both sides rekindled, millions of money spent, tens of thousands of lives sacrificed.

If Christians of the East were brought any nearer to civil and religious liberty, it was in spite of the Russian war, and owing to the continuance of the exertions which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe never ceased to make for the radical reform of the Turkish Empire. He had begun

this great work, and had carried it on many years before the war. He continued it during the war, in spite of the irritation which Russian aggression caused.

England had spoken on the side of impartial justice, even where the offenders were Christians; and had shown her sincerity by deeds, even to the extent of fighting on the side of the Moslems. But England was known to be the friend and advocate of all suffering Christians, and in those days her words had weight. All the influence England possessed, and in those days it was enormous, was used in favour of liberty for all, and for the purpose of reforming abuses.

Turco-phile and Russo-phobe are convenient phrases freely applied of late to people who fail to perceive that it is a Christian duty to foment insurrection, or to dispossess Turkey by force of any part of her empire; and who hold that Russia might more effectually serve the interests of humanity and of Christianity in the East, than in annexing, by means of sanguinary war, fresh provinces to her vast empire.

It may be asked whether it is altogether fair to apply these terms to people whose experience has shown them that Eastern Christians could be emancipated by a process more speedy, more efficacious, and less wasteful of human life, than by insurrection and war.

Let any impartial person compare the condition of native Christians in Palestine at the beginning of the Russian War, in 1853, with what it was twenty years before, in 1833, and let them say honestly whether immense progress toward emancipation had not been made.

And this was true not only of Jerusalem, Nazareth,

Acre, Beyroot, and all towns in Palestine, even including Damascus; but it was also true of other parts of the Turkish Empire, of Smyrna, Constantinople, and Egypt.

Let any native Christian, old enough to remember the sufferings endured only twenty years before the Crimean War broke out, bear witness, and he will say that in 1853 the change was already for the better, as the change from darkness to light, or from death to life.

And yet all that change was brought about quietly by steady persevering action on the part of people who were certainly not Turco-philes, unless he could be justly called a Turco-phile who most clearly saw the iniquities of Turkish rule as it was fifty years ago, and who rebuked the offenders with a candour and a sternness remembered better in Constantinople and by Eastern Christians than in England; while at the same time he wielded the powerful influence within his reach, and of which not the meanest was his own intimate knowledge of facts as distinguished from fiction, so successfully against abuses and in favour of thorough radical reform, that his name will be handed down to posterity as that of the upright Englishman who found out where and how justice could be had for all the subjects of the Sultan of Turkey, and spared no pains to get it for them.

Christianity has vital force, which will and must cause those peoples who sincerely profess the Christian faith to grow and expand, and become strong the moment pressure is removed.

The true friend is he who quietly helps to remove pressure wherever it exists. But the storms of war are

cruelly injurious—they check growth, depress the vital powers, blight the young budding energies, lay low plants growing up under the influences of peace, and it is a long time before they can recover and raise their heads again.

Some talk of the sacred duty of insurrection, of the holiness of war; but we may be pardoned for preferring means by which Christians may be more surely benefited, and which are less likely to leave festering sores and rankling enmities.

Surely it would have been bad policy in the years between 1833 and 1853 to have fomented insurrection, when other means could be resorted to and found successful. It was better to promote radical reforms, by which Christians, Moslems, and Jews would all be benefited; to spend time, energy, and self-denying labour, in seeking and obtaining toleration and tranquillity for all.

Greater and more rapid progress might have been made in the emancipation of Eastern Christians, if more interest had been taken in this country in the great work then going on in Turkey. But in those days, at least, people knew but little of their fellow Christians in the East, and devoted a very small proportion of their thoughts, or time, or money, to seeking their welfare.

The apathy of English Christians was amazing to those who lived in the East, and watched precious years, with their opportunities for unlimited freedom of action suffered to slip by, unheeded and unused.

But while in this country men slumbered, others were awake and at work, and peaceful reform was not the object of their desires.

The Crimean war came and it stopped with a rude

shock that work of peaceful reform. It revived and sharpened the fanatic hatred of Christian against Moslem—Moslem against Christian. It absorbed vast sums of money—partly obtained by the infliction (unavoidable no doubt, but ruinous) of war taxes on the industrious part of the population: it checked agriculture, trade, and commerce; hindered education and improvement.

And the Crimean war was followed by consequences more ruinous still.—But of these we will speak by and by.

The authority so often quoted already, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, gives valuable testimony as to the resources and vital energies stored up in the countries which compose the Turkish Empire:—

'Be it remembered that the Sultan's dominions, whether we look to climate, soil, or position, are rich beyond conception in resources of every kind. We have only to name the countries which are comprised within their limits, and every doubt on this point must vanish from our minds. The wonder is, that regions so blest with all varieties of produce, with climates so favourable to labour, with coasts so accessible to commerce, and with full experience of these advantages transmitted from age to age, should have been brought to such degradation at a period when other countries, far less happily endowed by nature, reached so great a height of prosperity and power.

'Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, the vast plains of Thessaly, and Adrianople—those in Asia, watered by the Hermus, the Mæander, the Cayster, the Caïcus, and the productive provinces extending on both sides along the Danube from Hungary to the sea—all these and many other districts of surpassing fertility are only waiting for the long-expected signal to enter upon a new career of industry, wealth, and glory. Let the doors be thrown open to the arts, the science, the capital of Europe; let the emulation of the natives be encouraged, and their fortunes

sufficiently protected; let the reforms to which the Imperial Government is pledged, be put into a regular course of execution, and the most satisfactory results will be sure to follow. Even as it is, the Porte's revenue has increased by a fourth since the Crimean war, and the financial embarrassments which have accompanied that progress may be fairly attributed to extravagance, to corruption and mismanagement, or to the cost of putting down disturbances engendered by a vicious course of administration.

'The reforms which are here recommended must be viewed as a whole in order to be fully appreciated. They are comprehensive in principle and also in application. They are by no means limited to the Christian subjects of the Porte. They are calculated to promote the welfare of all classes, whatever may be the separate creed of each. The Imperial proclamation in which the new concessions are embodied, together with the earliest, is a real charter of franchises, the *Magna Charta* in a broader sense than ours, of the Turkish Empire. Honour to Sultan Abdul Mejid, who gave it, and to Reschid Pasha, with whom its leading idea originated. The various provisions it contains may be severally classed under the following heads:—

I. Confirmation of beneficial ordinances already proclaimed.
II. Extension of previous concessions.
III. Removal of existing abuses.
IV. Securities for the observance of new measures.
V. Improvement of a material kind.

'The field, it must be allowed, is a wide one, and surely in its compartments there is no want either of liberality or of apparent sincerity. A system of reform which aims at the removal of all abuses, the perpetuation of all franchises, the fusion of all classes, the development of all resources, the entire liberty of public worship and of private conscience in religious matters, the extension and security of civil rights, and an enlarged intercourse with foreigners, can hardly fail to engage our sympathy, and, considering the difficulties which surround it in a country like Turkey, to command our admiration and hearty concurrence. We boast too much of the spirit of our age to be

indifferent to one of its greatest and least expected achievements. Our free institutions, our Protestant faith, our commercial enterprise, our skill in manufactures, all these sources of our national greatness are deeply interested in the triumph of such principles over bigotry, ignorance, and corruption in one of their strongest and most extensive holds.'[1]

[1] Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 'Nineteenth Century,' p. 735.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL MOSLEM POPULATION OF PALESTINE.

Improved condition of the Christians—Moslem pilgrimages to Jerusalem—*Hharam-esh-Shereef*—'Noble Sanctuary' jealously closed against Non-Moslems—Murder of a Moslem at prayer in the Sanctuary—Nabloos fanaticism—Death to Apostates—Various kinds of Moslems—*Fellahheen* 'Peasantry'—*Belladeen* 'Town Arabs'—Their dislike of Turks—Peasant or *Fellahheen*—Code of Law—Thâr, or 'blood revenge'—Influence of Village clan Sheikhs—Turkish yoke not heavy—'Balance of power'—'Divide et impera'—Turkish system of self-government—Its disadvantages—Reforms.

HAVING sketched out the condition of the various communities in the City of Jerusalem, let us now take a general survey of the state of the Moslem population of Palestine, before and at the commencement of the Russian War; of their attitude towards Christians, of their own condition, and of their relations with the Turkish Government.

It will be borne in mind that these Moslems form the bulk of the population, and include the dominant class of Arabs and Syrians in the towns ('*belladeen*'), a very large majority of the peasantry ('*fellahheen*'), and all the wild desert Arabs ('*bedaween*'). All these three classes are Moslems (Mohammedans), at least in name and (some measure of) outward observance.

The rest of the inhabitants are Christians, and in certain towns Jews are to be found—and some Samaritans in Nabloos—Druses in the Lebanon, &c.

A great change had, as has been already stated, passed over the land, as well as over Jerusalem, with respect to toleration of religion in the existing generation, not only caused by the Hatti-Shereef of Gulhâneh in 1838, but also by the surviving effects of previous Egyptian dominion between 1832 and 1840, which had swept away much of the bigotry and tyranny of former ages.

There had even been, since 1845, a profession of equality for all religions in the administration of local government, and certainly less of injury and insult from the Moslem populace to the Christians. Their functionaries were no longer endured as intruders into Christian houses for food, lodging, and money, remaining there till their demands were satisfied. Christian women were not now dishonoured with impunity of the offenders. 'Avanias,' or levies of money, at any irregular time or place, without reason assigned, were no more suffered. Christians were not now pushed into the gutters of the streets by every Moslem taking up the best part of the pavement, and with a scowl crying out, 'Shemmel-nì ya kelb' (turn to my left, thou dog); neither were Christians debarred from riding horses or wearing cheerful colours.[1]

[1] As specimens of old times, see Journal of Rev. P. Fisk who was in Jerusalem in 1823. He was seated with two friends on the Mount of Olives, and while singing a hymn, an armed Moslem came up and commanded them to be silent, threatening Mr. Fisk to strike him with his gun.

The same day (it seems) the President of the Greek Convent of Mar Elias was bastinadoed to a fearful extent, under the idea that he could be made to discover hidden treasure. And some of the villages around having refused to pay the excessive and arbitrary taxation laid upon them, the soldiers caught hold of an infirm old peasant of the Christian village of Bait Jala, shot him, cut off his head, and stuck it up inside the Jaffa gate of Jerusalem, where it was pelted and spit upon by boys of the streets for three days. Christians passing by were melted into tears, but dared not give expression to their feelings.

Legal commentary-books of the detestable old bigotry were indeed still in existence, and even acted upon in small or remote places, but it was at length known by experience that in towns where European Consuls had cognizance, reports might be made to higher stations still, and then not merely written rebukes for illegal acts, but displacement from office could be obtained from Constantinople.

Christians had felt in 1852 much more secure in life and goods than their fathers had been, yet the actual generation, even when elected to be members of the Civic Council, dared not venture so far in acting upon their privileges as to refuse giving their seals to notoriously false documents. They took their places humbly in the lowest part of the Divân, thankful for the comparative honours they enjoyed.

Not only the laws, but the known and expressed wishes of the Supreme Government were in favour of Christians. Had there been no disturbing influences, the Christians might now have been considered to enjoy a fair measure of tranquillity, at least in the towns where Europeans resided, and imposed some check by their presence upon the old Moslem insolence and fanaticism; but the ferment of the rumours of war induced a dangerous feverishness over the country.

The Russians were regarded as protectors and champions of Eastern Christianity—hence the ignorant Moslems, and these were by no means confined to the poorer classes, even in Jerusalem, considered the war now imminent as a Holy war, in which Islâm was to be ranged against Christianity. Among such every Moslem was to

consider as his enemy every native Christian, or at least all those who had any relations with Russia (Greeks, and even Armenians).

The timorous and panic-stricken Christians helped forward this idea by the very excess of their fears. They had not the sense to conceal their dread of a probable approaching massacre, in which scenes of horror and bloodshed were to be enacted, such as their fathers had endured in consequence of the war of Greek independence about thirty years before.

The condition of these poor people was distressing: neither reason nor argument made any impression upon them. Fear had been sucked in with their mothers' milk, in days gone by, and now it overpowered them.

If this was the case in Jerusalem, where the Convents, and Patriarchs, and Consuls, were ready protectors, it was tenfold worse in all distant towns and villages. There incidents occurred which would have been simply ludicrous but for the intolerance backed by power on one side, and abject alarm on the other, which they revealed.

At Easter, the Mufti of Gaza threw the handful of Christians of that town into a panic, by issuing a legal decision, or Fetwah, that it was against the interests of the religion of Islâm for the Christians to carry palm-branches in their church on Palm Sunday, as they had always done. When this became known in Jerusalem, people laughed at him and at the frightened Christians of the place.

Yet, in Jerusalem also, there was serious alarm lest a collision should occur between the crowds of Greek pilgrims assembled for Easter—sturdy, well-armed fel-

lows, some of whom had been Russian soldiers, and the Moslem pilgrims to Nebi-Moosa, who poured into the city in unusual numbers from the Nabloos district. The Nabloosians are noted for brutality and fanaticism.

Happily the Latin Easter was earlier this year, but the multitude of Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians (who all follow the Eastern Calendar) was immense, and the hum, the bustle and noise that came through open windows from the thronged bazaars, kept one constantly on the alert.

Through these filled streets and bazaars the Moslem pilgrims forced their way, in processions headed by men carrying gaudy green and red banners, beating large drums, and by wandering dervishes who performed incantations, with serpent charming, and sword jugglery. On Easter eve, the time of the holy fire, some of these bands tried to create a disturbance among the Christian pilgrims, but the Pashà, having timely notice, sent out infantry and cleared the streets.[1]

The Turkish authorities had good cause for thankful-

[1] The number of Greek pilgrims who went, according to custom, on the Monday after Palm Sunday to bathe in the Jordan, exceeded the usual number. The ceremonies passed off quietly, however, and so did also the washing of feet, performed in full pontifical splendour by the Greek Metropolitan Bishop (in absence of the Patriarch), in the open square before the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and by the Armenian Patriarch in his own Cathedral Church of St. James.

The Moslem pilgrimage always takes place at about Easter time, having been probably arranged as a counterbalance to the great influx of Christians at that period. Mohammedans from all parts of Asia and from Africa attend, and this year great numbers poured into Jerusalem, especially from the fanatical district of Nabloos. The Moslem authorities assigned for reason the unusual number of vows of thanksgiving to be paid for the recent blessing of unexpected rain after drought. But it is more likely that this was contrived by those who desired an outbreak against Christians on account of the present attitude of political affairs at Constantinople.

ness when the pilgrims of both kinds departed home and left Jerusalem to its ordinary condition; but still the uneasy feeling of danger continued to possess the resident Christians, and the Moslems were unusually defiant and blustering.

In Palestine, besides the usual mosques, there were two places of especial fanaticism reserved:—

1. The Hharam of Jerusalem, site of the ancient Temple of Israel, called the 'noble sanctuary,' and by Europeans incorrectly the Mosque of 'Omar.

2. The Hharam of Hebron, which is Machpelah.

From access to these all but Mohammedans were excluded, and the former was guarded by a police of ferocious Africans called Takarni (plural of Takroori), a people from Darfoor.

Who has not heard of the former impossibility of getting access to the Mosque of 'Omar, and what traveller to Jerusalem of that or earlier periods has not gazed with wistful eyes at a distance, either from Olivet, or from the roof of the barracks when admitted there by special favour, upon those sacred precincts, which of old contained the one temple of the one God, and where prophets, priests, kings, apostles, and the Saviour himself, have certainly walked: now presenting so Oriental an appearance, a spacious area with green grass, olive and cypress trees, around an edifice of remarkable beauty?

Many mistakes, and consequent insults or injuries, having arisen from strangers imagining that place to be one of public promenade, as they peered through the open gateways, it became necessary to represent these instances to the Embassy. Our people were sometimes

beaten by the Africans with clubs and pelted with stones when approaching in that direction, or merely passing at some distance within view of the gates.

At one time I entreated the Pashà to obviate these inconveniences, either by putting up bars across the open passages, or by placing sentinels from the adjacent barracks, or even by posting up inscriptions in two or three European languages, for warning off the strangers; but nothing was done.

The following incident of July, 1851, will show what sort of occurrences were to be apprehended. A Moslem in Nizâm (military) uniform was praying within the Hharam enclosure, with a book before him, and according to proper ritual, his shoes off, and his unbuckled sword laid by his side, when one of the old school of devotees came up, and accusing him of being a Christian, bade him repeat the Confession of Faith. This he did, but in a manner more deliberate than is usual with Moslems of the country, on which the other snatched up the sword, and cut him deeply across the face.

The man died of the wound the next day.

Now, it may have been that the victim was not a born Moslem, but a renegade serving in the Turkish army, and therefore not yet versed in traditionary observances prescribed for prayer; or he may have been a born Moslem from some distant land, not sufficiently familiar with the Arabic language to be able to recite the formulated verses without a book.

No enquiry was made on the subject, but the event showed the peril of any non-Moslem entering within the Hharam-esh-Shereef of Jerusalem. I never heard of any

punishment reaching the religious murderer. The crime had not even the specious excuse of being an infliction by the appointed police.

The town of Nabloos (Shechem) has been commonly held in bad repute for its intolerance of Christianity. Very few Christians resided there, but they had constant reason to complain of gross injustice on the part of the local authorities. European travellers, too, were hooted through the streets; the men kept themselves from detection, but their children were taught to run along the flat roofs of the houses, singing disgusting rhymes to a simple air, and as these juvenile offenders could not be got at, the men in the streets or bazaars, in reply to remonstrances, merely shrugged their shoulders and said that the children were ill-behaved. Happily few of the travellers understood what was going on, and the poor creatures representing police acted as well as they could under the lax rule of the period.

In the village of Sebustieh, occupying part of the ground of the ancient metropolis Samaria, less than two hours from Nabloos, the people have even a worse character, and are distinguishable by a vile scowling demeanour towards Europeans. On one occasion I was with a friend surveying the remarkable antiquities of the place, when some lazy fellows, lying on the ground, bawled out to the muleteers, undeterred by the armed kawwâses in attendance, 'Where did you pick up that lot?'

They were doubtless ignorant of any political connection between our Government and the Turkish—in fact, equally indifferent to both nations: and as we passed

along Herod's long colonnade, a troop of their children pursued us singing in chorus :—

> Our festival is that of the Prophet,
> Your festival is that of the Devil.

It was at the beginning of Ramadân, to which, of course, their allusion was made, and there was no governor to apply to nearer than Nabloos. However, we were too strong a party for the men to attack.

About the same time the Shaikh of a village named Tarsheehhah, near Acre, conceived this a favourable opportunity for reviving the failing spirit of what were to him 'the good old times,' and under the profession of certain ultra doctrines gathered from among the Metâwila sect, he collected disciples to follow in his train from village to village, distinguished by a particular mode of wearing the turban, and all carrying long staves shod with iron, which they thumped upon the ground while vociferating the Confession of Faith—'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God!'

These coarse and ignorant enthusiasts claimed to be revivalists of primitive dogma, and even sent missionary agents into large towns, where converts were made by them; but in neither town nor country did they produce much effect for evil, for the civil power was everywhere against them, and in the villages they were unwelcome on account of their boisterous demands for hospitality. In Jerusalem some men of the best families took to the Tarsheehhah turban and iron-shod staves, but these were believed, how truly I cannot tell, to be indoctrinated with the Pantheism of the Soofis.

Could these people have witnessed or believed from

others the true state of Constantinople at the same time or soon afterwards, when it lay almost trodden down by unbelieving armies, and the mosque of St. Sophia opened to foreigners with their shoes on; or still more, could they have witnessed the change of manners produced by the so-called civilisation there within the palace itself, they would have been ready to anathematise the 'Commander of the Faithful' and all his Divân—what mischief they might have perpetrated under such circumstances in Syria, away from the stirring scenes of war!

We were surprised to find that at the same period the peasantry even in the district about, and to the south of Nabloos, understanding better than before the real condition of our alliance with their rulers, adopted the practice of saluting us Europeans on the highways with the greeting of 'Salâm 'aleikom' (peace be upon you!) which had always been strictly reserved for Mohammedans only; and the Kâdi of Caifa declared to me that the reservation was merely a matter of custom, and not the result of any law or tradition, appealing to his friends around him for confirmation. It is, however, most probable that this was but a flattering untruth, adapted to time and circumstance.[1]

Old 'Abd el Wahh'd, the Kâdi of Nabloos, always saluted me thus in public, and sometimes would even recite the Lord's prayer, as he had learned it from our

[1] This Moslem exclusion of Christians from the benefits of Salâm, which belongs to the world to come as well as to this world, prevails in most Mohammedan countries; but I am told that in India that salutation is freely given to the English, partly because we are masters of the country, and partly because amid the vast nations of idolaters they look upon us almost as co-religionists.

Protestant Prayer-book (*i.e.* our English liturgy), and say it was very good.

The mass of the population, however, being extremely ignorant, were but little influenced by the convenient liberality of Turkish and other officials, and the above salutation gradually fell into disuse, disappearing with the war itself.

It is, however, worth remarking that, according to my experience, the intolerance of the old school was directed in our era rather against Europeanism than against the Christian religion, though the Turks gave some impulse in the liberal direction, which obtained mostly in towns: the knowledge had been brought home to the minds of all but very remote peasantry that destiny had probably given over to the Europeans an invincibility in military as in other science, against which it was hopeless to contend; and all that could be done was what every faithful Moslem was sure it was his duty to do, according to his means, to impede the advance of the coming evil in all its stages—only in the actual state of affairs to remember that we were active allies with themselves.

Once in a secluded valley, not in a town, a peasant lad pointed at our party with one finger, meaning 'to attest the unity' of God, as he repeated the few words of the last chapter of the Korân,[1] but this was likely to be more out of superstitious fear than from hatred.

In the mental difficulty which occupied the old-school Moslems under the circumstances, such persons would

[1] [En Nas] 'Say ye, I take refuge in the Lord of mankind, the King of mankind, the God of mankind, from the mischief of the suggestions of the Evil one, who suggests into the breasts of men, from both Jinns and men.'

sometimes make an effort to be tolerant by quoting the 'Hadith,' or traditional saying of Mohammed, that there are seventy-two religious sects in the world, but the Prophet had not told which was the half one; some thought it was that of the Druzes, some the Gypsies, some the Ansarîyeh; but he could not have meant the Christians, for they are included under the denomination of 'Ehel el Kitâb,' *i.e.* believers in books of Divine revelation—these books being understood to be the Law of Moses, the Book of Psalms, and the New Testament, this latter being known by the single word, 'the Gospel.'

One special point must not be passed over—the old-fashioned belief that the Moslem law peremptorily ordains the penalty of death for the crime of apostacy from their religion. This had been literally executed in Constantinople and Broosa not long before, even in the case of persons who had been originally Christian, but had deserted the Mohammedan faith after once professing it.

The indignant outcry of Christendom, however, expressed chiefly through our Embassy at Constantinople, insisted on a renunciation of this practice in 1845; but it was difficult to instil this novel form of toleration within the distant provinces.

Some years before the time we have arrived at, a case was secretly mentioned to me of a Christian (originally) abandoning the creed of Islâm; our Anglican bishop advised that the man should retire to India for personal safety in making his abjuration; my idea was that he would be equally free to act according to his conscience in Malta, but I do not know what was eventually done for him.

About 1850 I had protected a man and his son for a considerable time within the Consular premises, who were in danger on the same account; finally these left us for Jaffa, and I believe for Constantinople.

The question still remained undecided as regarded a born Moslem accepting Christianity.

We have had occasion in the course of this history to mention the Moslems as distinguished from the Christians in Turkey. But it must be remembered that the Moslems with whom we had to do were of very diverse nationalities, sects, and characteristics.

It is laughable—or rather it would be laughable if there were no evil consequences arising from the ignorance betrayed—to hear people mix up the good and bad points in the Moslem religion with the good and the bad qualities of those who profess that religion—forgetting the immense diversity of nations classed together under the wide term Mohammedans.

What can be more various, or even opposite, than the characteristics of the Arabs, the Turks, the Hindoos, Afghans, Tartars, Persians, Moors, Negroes, Africans of many races, Syrians, Bedaween, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Circassians?

Yet all these are Moslems. They have in common the good and the evil engendered by the religion of Islâm. They have in distinction and contrast to each other strongly marked national characteristics—little if at all modified by their common religion.

And yet people judge of Mohammedanism by the particular race or nation of Moslems (Arab, Turk, Indian, or Persian), or of whom they know most, or *vice versâ*—

they judge of Arab Moslems and measure them by what experience they may have of Turkish Moslems or Negroes, Hindoos, or other nations!

As well might they estimate Christianity exclusively by the particular aspect which it presents in Italy or in Holland, or Moscow; or form their ideas about the Irish by what they know of Germans—of the Spaniards by their acquaintance with Icelanders or Poles—for are not all these Christians?

A chief cause of the confusion in European ideas arises from the fact that various nations take different specimens as the type of Mohammedanism and judge by them.

In Central Europe, Russia, and Greece, 'the Turks,' 'die Türken,' is a phrase synonymous (though incorrectly so) with 'the Moslems.'

In Spain and Italy the Moors and Arabs represented Mohammedanism. To this day the Sephardi Jews, whose ancestors were driven from Spain in the fifteenth century, and who have lived ever since in Palestine, have no other name for all their Moslem neighbours than 'los Moros.'

To the mind of the Anglo-Indian a totally different type of Moslem presents itself, and the French again are chiefly familiar with Egyptian and Algerine varieties.

Yet all believe themselves to be well acquainted with Moslems and their religion, while judging by national characteristics often opposed to those of every other Moslem people than the one they happen to know. The religion of Islâm, as it was in its Arabian origin set forth in the Korân, may be no doubt comprehended by students who have never seen a Mohammedan in their lives.

But in order to deal fairly and successfully with Moslems, account must be taken of the modifications through which their religion has passed in various countries and among different people, and allowance must be made for great and even contradictory varieties of national character.

In Palestine we had to deal with three principal types —the pure Arabs, the Syrian races on whom Islam had been imposed by conquest, and the Turks now dominant as conquerors and rulers over both.

But we had also foreigners—Turkomâns, Kurds, Indians, Afghans, Tartars, Egyptians, and Africans, more or less in daily intercourse with us.

These all were of the Sunnee or orthodox sect.

The Shiahs were represented among us by Persian pilgrims and by the whole population in the Metâwilah district of the Belâd Bashâra.

To have confounded these together, or to have treated them all alike, must have led to perhaps even fatal consequences.

The so-called Arab Moslem settled population of Palestine is separable into two classes: first, the mere (almost brutal) peasantry, the *Fellahheen*—and, secondly, those somewhat more civilised, the inhabitants of towns, the *Belladeen*.

The first, who form the bulk of the population, have been indiscriminately called Arabs by Europeans, without any consideration as to whether they come from Arabia or not. They do not call themselves so, but simply *Fellahheen* (*i.e.* tillers of the soil, ploughmen).

The second, the *Belladeen*, or dwellers in towns, are

a mixed race of various origins, but there are among them families entitled to the name Arab, their ancestors having been immigrants from Arabia at the time of the Mohammedan conquest. This class forms but a small proportion of the population; but these people are proud of their descent: they know, even the ignorant among them, something of their system of religion, and look back to its Arabian source.

They are on this very account unable to comprehend how a Sultan of Turks, an alien race coming from Tartary, can rightly be regarded as Caliph (successor) of Mohammed the Koreish Arab, or exercise the power of appointing or displacing the Shereef of Mecca.

Among other modes of expressing their dislike of Ottoman pretensions to the Caliphate was the bitter way of their pronouncing the Sultan's title of 'Khân,' as though it were an epithet derived from the Arabic 'Khana' (to betray or cheat). I have heard them, with strange amount of emphasis, speak of 'Abdu'l Mejeed el Khaïn' (the betrayer of trust).[1]

These Arabs, as they consider themselves, detest and hate the Turks with an ancient hatred which goes back to the period of the Ottoman conquest of 'Arabistân.' The enmity and jealousy are due to difference of race and traditional remembrance of conquest.

But loyalty to Islâm is a powerful and pervading principle which keeps in check every other feeling. The Sultan is *de facto* Caliph to the learned Arabs; he is also

[1] In the opinion of this class of the people the modern reforms and liberal measures were a flagrant departure from the pure Moslem laws of the Korân.

Caliph *de jure*. As a matter of religious obedience they acknowledge and obey him.

The former, the peasants (*Fellahheen*), are nominally Mohammedans by inheritance, knowing no other religion, but are ignorant to the last degree of all but a few externals of worship. These are as much a conquered race as the Christians are, and like them loathe the bad government and the sensual vices of their rulers.

They visit the towns as little as possible, and appeal as little as possible to Turkish courts of law, for they have among themselves an ancient traditional code of oral law, which they designate 'the law of Abraham,' thus distinguished from the more modern code of the Korân. This body of jurisprudence is ample enough for their simple wants, and is usually administered by their Elders (Shaikhs), not necessarily, however, those of their own locality, for the cases may be referred to men of honest repute and wisdom at a distance, whom they style 'good men of God' (Ajawâd Allah), and to such the parties are at liberty to appeal even after judgment given at home.

This oral law is more elaborate than we might suspect to be needed, with just and fair provisions to the advantage of the defendants. It may be paralleled by the Maori law, and the Brehon law of other countries, practically resorted to by indigenous tribes after their subjugation by a stronger race.

The yoke of subjection to Turkey did not press heavily upon the village population. There was plenty of bribery, corruption, neglect; there was little of active tyranny, or of the grinding despotism which made men pity the unfortunate peasantry of Egypt.

The Fellahheen of Palestine were, on the contrary, suffered to govern themselves pretty much as they liked. Taxation did not press upon them, even with all the exactions and impositions of the tax-farmers, who were often Christians. Their lands were fertile, and for the most part yielded abundantly. The peasantry were generally pretty well off, and a good many among them amassed money. Their loyalty to the Sultan was unshaken.

The Pashàs were mostly weak and venal—even rapacious; but the days of cruel tyranny, such as that of 'Abdallah Pashà of Acre, were past and gone. The Pashàs were but little felt—seen still less, for during their year's tenure of office they rarely went beyond the walls of Jerusalem.

The miseries of forced conscription for the army were in those days unknown in Palestine: and on the whole, the peasantry felt that if their Government did but little or nothing for them, they, on the other hand, had little or nothing to suffer from the rigours of the rule under which they lived. If the Bashi-bazuks now and then lived at free quarters, and carried off whatever they could lay hands on, the regular troops lay quietly in garrison, and never troubled the villagers at all.

From within there was nothing to endanger the safety of Turkish dominion in Palestine. Left to themselves, the Peasant factions and the Bedawy tribes, the Druzes and the Maronites, might and did fight each other; but of any insurrection against their lord the Sultan there was not the slightest danger.

Local dissensions and hostilities might be fomented

by intrigue from without; fanatical intolerance and hatred might be wrought up to a pitch of fury, but even this must have been a work of time in all but the large cities—such as Damascus, Nabloos, or Gaza.

Had any religious insurrection against the Christians been begun in the cities, a hope of plunder would doubtless soon have brought in peasants and wild Arabs to take their part; but of rebellion against the Sultan and his Government there was no idea whatever.[1]

[1] Loyalty to the Sultan prevails throughout the Turkish Empire. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe gives important testimony on that point:—

'Respect for the Sultan, consideration even for his weaknesses, submission to his authority, nay, to his pleasure, are still universal among the Mussulman population. From time to time, and not unfrequently, there are disturbances, now in this, now in that province, but they arise nearly always from local causes, and are confined within narrow limits. Excesses may be committed by some body of insurgents; the magistrates may be overpowered; individuals may suffer, and the immediate object of aversion may be swept away. But after a time the Sultan's authority is sure to ride over all obstacles, and to restore the public peace with more or less severity, and some feeble show of reparation. The army, inadequate as it is to the wants of the Empire, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-paid, thinned by frequent marches over miserable roads, and having no reason to rely upon its officers, rarely, if ever, fails to perform its duty. Discipline, though imperfect, gives it a constant advantage over the rude extempore levies opposed to its arms.' (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 'Nineteenth Century,' p. 733.)

'Much belongs to the personal qualities of the Sultan, or of the principal depositary of his power. The nature of the government and the character of the people make it so. Mahomet, the conqueror of Constantinople, and his immediate successors are brilliant illustrations of the fact. Mahmoud, the present Sultan's father, ruled with power, and commanded general respect notwithstanding his losses, his reforms, his sanguinary executions, and the vile debaucheries which closed his life. His eldest son and successor, 'Abdu'l Mejid, fell into contempt through want of resolution and energy, although his reign, unsullied by any measures of injustice or cruelty, was marked, on the contrary, by a course of policy successful, on the whole, both at home and abroad. His failings were those of a gentle and generous disposition, unsustained by that vigour of mind and body which the difficulties of his perilous station required. If, as there is room to hope, his younger brother, 'Abdu'l Aziz (who was reigning when this was written), the reigning Emperor, should carry out the reforms and improvements adopted by

In spite of the most serious defects and hindrances, the Ottoman Government held its own. The Turks in past times had maintained their rule in Palestine, as elsewhere, by steady adherence to the policy of using one interest or set of interests to counterbalance others. In the art of doing this they are still unrivalled. When two chiefs, or tribes, or provinces, were too nearly equal in strength, and had therefore become troublesome, they were set to fighting each other till one obtained the upper hand.

Both were weakened in the process, and ambiguities were ended by the results. Thereafter *one* could be held responsible for whatever might occur. Should that one, be it chief, tribe, or province, become too powerful —the ancient rivalry had probably not been so utterly extinguished that it could not be revived and used for abating the pride and strength of the opposite side, now grown too great to be easily kept in subjection.

And the same principle was applied in a thousand various ways. 'The balance of power' is no empty phrase in Turkish politics, whether local and on a small scale, or in the larger concerns of churches and of kingdoms.

People often wondered and asked how Turkey could govern Palestine, and hold in check so many conflicting interests, and so independent and even turbulent a population, by means of a single battalion or two of regular troops, who were rarely seen beyond the walls of the

Abdul-Mejid with the energy displayed by Mahmoud, Turk and Christian, the Empire and its allies, would have reason to rejoice.' (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 'Nineteenth Century,' p. 734.)

garrison towns, and who could only be made to act by means of orders obtained from the Commander-in-Chief at Damascus, many days' journey off?

Besides these few troops, the visible government only consisted, as has been stated, of a Turkish Pashà (changed every year) at Jerusalem, at Acre, and at Beyroot; of a Turkish kâdi, or judge, in each principal town; and of a few troops of irregular horse or Bashi-bozuk.

And yet the answer is simple. The plan was to govern the country through the local factions and by means of the local or native chiefs, civil and religious. Every tribe, and clan, and village, had its ruling Shaikhs or Elders; these were confirmed in office under the Turkish Pashà for the time being, and continued their administration of local affairs as heretofore, according to the local and native codes, subject only to appeal to the city courts and Turkish authorities; and these courts very rarely ventured to contravene the codes of law in use among the peasantry, which are extremely ancient, though unwritten.

In thus governing the country, the Turks only do what eastern rulers had done before them from time immemorial—indeed, we may go back to the days of the Romans, Syrians, Greeks, Persians, and Nebuchadnezzar himself, and find that Palestine was governed in a precisely similar fashion by them all. '*Divide et impera*' is an ancient motto.

The system of local self-government has this great merit, that it is a cheap one, costing but little in men, money, or appliances of office; that it is elastic, and adapts itself to all the various races and religions under

the supreme rule, and leaves them all in the enjoyment of their various customs and observances, without being harassed by successive changes, as the conquerors and rulers change.

Centralisation was unknown; each community lived apart and independent, provided only that lawful taxes and illegal exactions were paid when demanded.

The religious communities which were not governed by the Korân, *i.e.* those of all the various Christian Churches—and the Jews, valued the freedom and immunity from annoyance in administering their own affairs which this system gave them.

Each ruling Patriarch, Bishop, or Chief Rabbi, after having been confirmed in office by the Turkish Government, was henceforth regarded as the responsible head of his people, in civil as well as in religious matters.

He was held answerable for their good conduct, for the payment of their taxes, for their crimes real or alleged (until the reforms granted by Sultan Abdu'l Mejid gave him personal immunity for all but his own personal offences, he was actually liable to punishment, imprisonment, fine, or death, on behalf of his people). In return, and to save trouble, and endless disputes as to religious technicalities or difficulties, he was allowed to exercise almost despotic authority over his people in all matters, civil and religious.

True, the individual members of any Church or community had always the power and right of appeal to the Pashà, or to the Kâdi as judge of Korân law, but this was very seldom resorted to.

People preferred to be under the jurisdiction of

their own head, to bringing the interference of a Moslem authority into their affairs; and there was this further consideration, that the Pashà or Kâdi might, while professing to do justice, seize the opportunity for extorting money from both the accuser and the accused, if not from the whole community to which they belonged. It was generally wiser and safer to suffer wrong, than to carry a cause to the unbeliever for trial and redress.

It was commonly said by those who lived in Palestine, that under the Turks there was liberty of religion; but that if Russia or the Pope ever came to have rule in Palestine there would be none.

All creeds were tolerated alike—Latins as well as Greeks, Jews as well as Christians, Druzes and Heathen, with Protestant missionaries who were allowed to exercise their office freely among them all, without let or hindrance, save when some Pashà, or Kâdi, or other official, was bribed by the opposite sect or religious party to impede the movements of their opponents, or to aid in their intolerance of any proselytism among their own particular flock or body of believers.

Imprisonment, or fine, or persecution, was not resorted to by the Turkish officials in religious matters, save when instigated by some one more zealous than they.

Of course we are not now speaking of cases of conversion from Mohammedanism to Christianity, which were then scarcely ever known to occur. These were in the days when steam communication was barely known; when telegraphs did not exist; when Constantinople was very far off, and when it took even a Pashà many weeks to reach the capital.

Abuses of course were possible, and did exist. The Shaikhs and Chiefs, and the Religious Rulers, could and did tyrannise over their people, some more and some less. There was naturally a great deal of religious intolerance. The Chief Rabbi or Patriarch could imprison, fine, punish with bastinado, any wanderer from the fold.

This religious intolerance it was which, being increasingly practised by the religious rulers of the different creeds, at last gradually broke down the system, by rendering appeal to the Supreme Government necessary for protection in cases of conversion from one creed to another.

Religious liberty was obtained chiefly through Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who, by representing to the Ottoman Government the persecutions, contrary to law, which had become common under the system now described, gradually obtained for all religions and classes alike—Moslem, Jew, and Christian—the successive edicts of toleration and reform which were known as the Hatti-Shereef of Gul Hane in 1838; the Tanzimât Hairîyeh, 1841; and Hatti-Humayoon in 1856.

Strange to say, the religious persecutors of whom foreign missionaries had most occasion to complain were the Christians, who, in order to stifle progress, or hinder proselytism, did not hesitate to invoke the aid of the Moslem authorities in annoying and even maltreating missionaries and insubordinate members of their own flock.

Appeal to the supreme authority, and to the principles of justice on which the Turkish laws were based, became inevitable. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe it was who gave effect to these appeals, and obtained the pro-

mulgation of the edicts of toleration, whereby the tyranny of local authorities, Christian and Jewish, as well as Moslem, was checked.

Then, gradually, centralisation crept in. Appeal to Constantinople became possible, and common, as new laws were gradually put into force, and as communication became easier. New codes of laws were adopted; new mixed tribunals were instituted, and thus radical changes were made.

Many of these changes are entirely at variance in principle with that theory of government according to which Moslems, as the only true believers, had the pre-eminence over Christians and Jews (who could heretofore claim no more than toleration), and over the heathen (to whom no other choice could be lawfully offered than Islâm or death).

This Moslem theory of course is based upon the doctrine that the Law of the Korân must be paramount—that the Supreme Head of the State is he whom his Moslem subjects recognise, *de facto* or *de jure*, to be the 'Khalîf-Allah'—the Caliph-Vicegerent of God, as successor of the Prophet Mohammed.

But even under the old system—before the new codes were thought of, and while the Korân was still the only recognised standard of right—substantial justice could always be obtained by firmness on the part of the British authorities.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

Crisis as to Turkish dominion was expected in 1853—Peasantry or *Fellahheen*—Kais and Yemen factions—Abu Gosh clan—'Othman el Lahhâm of Bait Atâb and his faction—Mohammed 'Abd-en-Nebi and Nimmer el 'Amleh—Muslehh of Bait Jibreen—'Abderrahhmân el Amer of Hebron—Nabloos (Shechem)—Its rival clans—Tokân and 'Abdu'l Hâdy—Peasant Warfare—Thâr or Blood revenge—Dissension—Legend of the Devil and his son—Stirring up faction fight—Influence of the Shaikhs—Hafiz Pashà of Jerusalem—Hebron troubles in 1852—The Austrian and British Consuls go thither to succour the Jews—'Abderrahhmân el 'Amer dismisses the Turkish Governor—Terror of the people—Nabloos district and the North also disturbed—Consular visits to those districts—State of the country in 1853 when visited—Fighting—Truce effected by the Pashà.

In order to obtain an adequate idea of the state of Palestine when the war broke out, we must go back a little, and learn various incidents that had occurred before, among the clans which compose the agricultural population—that is to say, the native Fellahheen.

By the commencement of 1853 everbody felt that some serious crisis was at hand in respect to Turkish dominion in Palestine. In Europe, people naturally thought more of the coming war as affecting Constantinople; but in Palestine it was well understood that Jerusalem was the ultimate object of contention.

Europeans, of course, were divided in opinion as to the probable results if the 'sick man' should die, or

should be made to die; but the Moslem Arabs,[1] although sharing in the undefined apprehensions felt by others, were prepossessed by one idea only—the hope of deliverance from the 'rapacious and filthy' rule of the Turkish Pashàs (such were exactly the expressions used by them). To the Sultan they were loyal.

The peasantry of Palestine—the *Fellahheen*—have their factions and family alliances, which serve either to divide or to bind them together, independently of the Turkish supremacy.

Of the largest form of class-separation into 'Kais' and 'Yemeni,' they are themselves unable to give any reasonable account; but the distinction certainly goes back at least to the early ages of the Arabian conquest of Syria in the seventh century. The Yemeni is said by some to refer to a faction from Yemen or Southern Arabia, and the Kais to a more northern body from that peninsula, who are mentioned in the biographies of Mohammed and his successors.[2] This, nevertheless, would not prove that the actual partisans now-a-days are strictly descendants from those hosts of invaders, but only that their forefathers adhered to either the Kais or Yemeni warriors, as they appeared on the scene, and became their feudatories.

These designations, however, exist likewise in the Lebanon mountains among the Druzes, where bitterest

[1] See *ante*, p. 200 *et seq.*, for a description of this class of the population.

[2] This idea seems confirmed by the following passage in Palgrave's 'Arabia,' vol. i. p. 455. 'The tribe of Kenânah from which he (Mahomet) was sprung, was near akin to that of *Keys*, and both were descended from Nezâr, whose very name was the war-cry of the northern Arabs in their combats with the armies of Yemen.

hostilities were long carried on between them, until the Kaisîyeh were crushed, with the famous Fakh'r-ed-Deen as their champion.

In the South of Palestine the feuds under those names are still in vigour. Our Kaisîyeh profess (and this is all they have to say on the subject) that they derive their appellation from their being '*hardened*' against the Mohammedan creed at its first promulgation, and therefore the last to accept it—an evidence, they say, of their natural hardihood.

The men are distinguished by their turbans, the Kaisîyeh wearing them striped of dark red and yellow; but the Yemenîyeh striped of pink upon white; and in their pride the former boast that dark-coloured horses are stronger than the paler coloured—also, that even dark-coloured cocks of the village dunghills always conquer their paler opponents; and as for warfare, they assert that the Kaisi Mohammed 'Abd en Nebi el 'Amleh, though mustering but four hundred men, is always victorious over Abu Gosh the Yemeni, with his much larger resources. If true at any time, this can only be so within his own rocky wilderness, where it is difficult to pursue him.

In some villages, such as Malhhah, SW. of Jerusalem, and others, the people are divided, some being of Kais and others of Yemeni, ranged, when called out for fighting under the opposite banners of those factions, across their own street.

There are some differences between them in their dialect of Arabic: among other such, the Kaisîyeh pronounce the letter *kâf* like hard *g*, as the Bedaween do.

These factions are moreover subdivided into what may have been originally family clans, such as the Beni Malik, the Beni Murrah, the Beni Salim, each occupying now a few villages in groups, and rivalling each other for possession of land. These all have their own old grudges 'to feed fat,' and they omit no opportunity of rushing into hostilities on that or blood-feud account.

The country had remained tolerably quiet since the repressive measures employed by the Kubrusli Pashà in August, 1846, when the rival leaders in local disturbances, Hhaj Mustafa Abu Gosh, Mohammed 'Abd en Nebi (surnamed El 'Amleh, of the territory between the latter and that of Hebron), 'Abderrahhmân Amer, of Hebron, and Muslehh el Azizi, of Bait Jibreen, were shipped off into exile.

So independent of each other were some of these men that, as I learned from the last-named of them in after years, he had never seen Abu Gosh till they met, both in chains, on board the *Shakhtoor*, which conveyed them to Turkey by sea from Jaffa; but in 1853 these worthies had returned to their several districts and their ancient mode of life, as Shaikhs, or Chiefs, of their respective clans.

It will help us to a better understanding of the transactions of the period if we revert to the personal histories of these disturbers of the public peace. Let it be remembered that we are now speaking of the agricultural population—the Fellahheen—with their tribes, or clans.

First we have the Abu Gosh party, the one that seems to be named correctly a Sept, or Clan. The name Abu Gosh is by interpretation 'The Father of Deceit,' an evil

title if considered in relation to him of whom we are told that 'when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar, and the father of it' (John viii. 44). The village which this chief holds as his capital is *Kuriet el 'Aneb* (commonly called El Kurieh, *i.e. The Village*), the Kiriath Jearim of Scripture, and to my mind beyond all doubt the place which gave the name to the traitor Judas, he being Ish-Kiriath, or 'man of Kiriath,' softened in Greek into Iscariot.[1]

The village is situated alongside the high road of Jaffa to Jerusalem, at the distance of three hours from the latter, in a position commanding a long view of travellers and pilgrims on their approach, the road passing almost within musket-shot of the houses, and between them is a deserted Christian church, still standing, the small windows of which may serve well for loop-holes or embrasures. To all common appearance the village is well built, and has a pleasant aspect. The cultivation of the hills around is exceptionally good—superior, indeed, to any other on that line of road. Quietness and repose seem to characterise the place.

The head man there responsible to the Government was Ahhmad 'Abderrahhmân (say in 1852–3), and he was the Shaitân, or source of all evil counsels: while the right hand of the clan, the fighting man, was his nephew, Hhaj Mustafa, a person of commanding presence, the same who had been exiled by the Kubrusli Pashà, and had now returned. The former was old, and weazened in appearance, 'the least erected spirit,' whose 'looks were

[1] We have somewhat similar forms of name in Ish Tob, 2 Sam. x. 6, and Ish Bosheth, etc.

always downwards bent,' and was always twitching the corners of his mouth, pale of face, and dressed in white.

All the families of the village were said to be, and that with great probability, of the same kith and kin as their leader, most of them remarkable for a pale complexion, attributable to their Circassian origin. The Sept of Abu Gosh is derived from some Circassian Memlooks, who accompanied Sultan Selim to Jerusalem, A.D. 1516.

They laid hold of a village named Bait Lâkia, at the mouth of Wadi Sulimân, leading eastwards off the Plain of Sharon among the hills. They multiplied for a long period, and domineered over the adjacent district.

Among the parties who were made to feel their influence were the Beni Amer, their neighbours, situated between 'Amwâs and Ras Kerker, from whom, among other items of tribute, one bride a year was exacted.

One day at Bait Lâkia, some of the peasant women were chatting near the well, when a youth (one of these Memlooks) passed by, on which one of the women instantly covered her mouth with her sleeve, a custom indicating respect or reserve in the presence of superiors.

Some men of the village, observing this, said, 'Why are you, then, shy before that boy, when you are not so in our company?' She replied, 'It is only proper to do so'—then adding in a sarcastic tone, 'for these are the people who take brides from the Beni Amer,' and raising her voice, 'Are you men, who suffer yourselves to be put down by them? Why, that boy is more of a man than any or all of you.'

Stung to the quick they went and concerted measures with the Beni Amer, which resulted in a massacre

of the usurping Abu Gosh strangers, leaving but one survivor, and he was named Muhammed. This man went and settled at Kalôneh, or occasionally at Soba, and after some years succeeded in getting a wife from Lâkia, by whom he had several sons.

One of these, named Jaboor, became afterwards a temporary governor of Jerusalem, and his son, Besheer, was still living in 1853, and later, at the stronghold of his clan, Kuriet el 'Aneb.

Another of these sons was father of our Hhaj Mustafa; and a third, named 'Abderrahhmân, was father of the Ahhmad, here described as the 'Shaitân,' or Devil of the lot; the one responsible to the Turkish Government.

The next event in their history was their invasion of Kuriet el 'Aneb, and settlement in the village and lands, from which they expelled a family named B'khakhrah, and successively all the families around.

After that they made incursions upon the Beni Amer, repeatedly destroying their villages. Kebâb, on the edge of the Plain of Sharon, they twice levelled with the ground, but it has been rescued from them and rebuilt. Three other villages near 'Amwâs they still retain. Kuriet el 'Aneb, however, is their home and stronghold.

We find the Abu Gosh chief stigmatised as a lawless robber and levier of black mail in books of travels for a considerable time previous to our epoch: that is to say, having grasped hold of the village of Kuriet el 'Aneb, he took opportunity, from the extreme exhaustion and irregularity of the Turkish rule, to levy 'ghuf'r,' or toll, from passengers to the holy places, just as others did in other localities, and as Bedaween Shaikhs still do in their wil-

dernesses, with the difference, however, of his ghuf'r being particularly profitable on account of the frequent passing along the road of pilgrims and traders from Jaffa, and also on account of the rich presents made to him by French and other travellers (see Chateaubriand, Lamartine, etc.).

Common pilgrims were allowed to pass toll-free, in consideration of a large annual subsidy derived from the Jerusalem Convents, besides irregular and forced presents from the same. The Turkish governors at that time were unable, and perhaps even unwilling, to stop this thoroughly Oriental practice, notwithstanding the grumbling of Europeans; but with the Egyptian invasion it was swept off at once, and the road kept free by military force.

On the return of the Turks, Abu Gosh lifted up his head once more, but the new government, on the representation of the Europeans, as it would seem, appointed him to the nominal office of 'Warden of the Road,' from the walls of Jerusalem to the Plain of Sharon, *i.e.* the whole hilly road, including the Wadi 'Ali, for which he was allowed a salary of forty thousand piastres (above 400*l.*) a year, and exemption from taxes on the three villages he possessed near Amwâs, 'on the plain' (which was famous in the Maccabæan annals).

How far 'Abu Gosh ought to have been trusted with such an office while clan-vengeance held its claims among the population as a duty of primary obligation, appeared in 1843, when, on the festival of Bairam, the two brothers, Ibn Simhhân, governors of Lydd, and Ramlah, were coming up to salute the Pashà of Jerusalem; they

being not only Arab Shaikhs, but officers also of Turkish administration, travelling upon the very highway of which their foe, Abu Gosh, was the salaried keeper under their superiors.

They had too rashly adventured themselves, with but a few attendants, within his limits; and at a contracted part of the road, which the writer knows right well, the party was stopped by a large force from the 'Kurieh,' and commanded to dismount and lay down their arms. The brothers were instantly deserted by their affrighted pedestrian followers, and shot dead.

The murderers had the corpses carried to their village, about a mile, and sent on a messenger to Jerusalem announcing what they had done. The bodies were left to lie unburied, in that country considered to be a profanation of humanity or decency, and were then interred among the olive trees opposite the village, within view of Abu Gosh's windows, but no memorial marks the spot—it is known only, as well as that of the assassination, by popular tradition.

This matter continued unpunished until the seizure and deportation of the criminal, in 1846, by the Kubrusli Pashà, by means of a stratagem outwitting even the 'father of deceit.'

In 1848 a scientific expedition of the United States of America was returning from the Jordan and Dead Sea, their task there being completed. On the way seawards, the surveyors were taking levels and angles right and left of the highway, but were stopped and threatened, under a claim of ghuf'r, by another of the family, Hhaj Yusuf Abu Gosh: rather a venturous proceeding,

seeing that the Americans were strong hardy men, and all armed with excellent revolvers.

As the expedition in all its proceedings had been placed under English protection, notice of this unexpected turn of affairs was forwarded to us, and I being out on the same road for an excursion, was speedily on the scene, arguing with Hhaj Yusuf under the lemon trees of Kalôneh.

After being shown the Musheer's 'Buyuruldi' from Beyroot, he lowered his tone into a threat of not suffering the Arab guide from the Dead Sea to earn money by conducting the officers over his territory; he swore tremendously to this effect, and half drew out his scymitar, returning it to the scabbard with a violent clank; on which I rose and left a kawwâs to attend upon the surveyors, while I returned to town to report to Zareef Pashà. In one month more Hhaj Yusuf was also on his way to Constantinople, and some years after died in exile at Widdin.

In 1851 Hhaj Mustafa was allowed to return on having paid the 'Deeyeh' or blood-fine to the family of Ibn Simhhân—he was thus completely absolved, and he assumed his position among respectable people.

It will be a happy day when (or if) the Turkish, or any good government, become strong enough to garrison for themselves the Kuriet el 'Aneb, as a permanent military post; for it is an important one, lying between a region of barren rocks and deep valleys on the side towards Jerusalem, and the steep broken glen of Wadi 'Ali in the opposite direction. Yet a European force practised either in Algeria, or the Caucasus, or in Abys-

sinia, would make exceedingly light matter of the whole line of road.

The Abu Gosh family still kept up a decided ascendancy among the rural factions by means of their wealth, their local position, and, above all, by their union among themselves; but found it necessary to keep their own dependants and allies in rough exercise upon some pretext or other, in order not to lose their old prestige. A subject for quarrel was always at hand in contesting with 'Othmân el Lehhâm, of the contiguous 'Arkoob district southwards, for supremacy over the Beni Hhassan villages on their confines.

This 'Othmân was a mere coarse, hard-headed peasant, with the village of Bait 'Atâb for his home and the surrounding district for his territory.

Southwards again was the more desolate region presided over by Mohammed 'Abd en Nebi el 'Amleh, a man so frequently engaged in hostilities, and so accurate a marksman as to have earned the appellation of 'Azrael' (the Angel of Death). His country is so hilly and scorching hot, as I know by experience, as to be ill adapted to formal military operations, and I do not believe that any Turkish soldiers, regular or irregular, can ever have been on duty there during my seventeen years' knowledge of Palestine. This man, however, and his people were free from the brutal cruelties of other warriors, and were noted for their generous hospitality.

Mohammed 'Abd en Nebi, with his cousin, Nimmer el 'Amleh, and his neighbour again to the south, Muslehh el Azizi, the giant of Bait Jebreen, and chief of his own special district, were always ready for a scrimmage, and

thus were of importance to be thrown into the scale of any rural contention; but the latter had generally sufficient employment in repelling inroads of Southern Bedaween.

Besides this continuous line of annoyance-giving Shaikhs, extending from Kuriet el 'Aneb to Bait Jibreen, the Pashà had always two other territories demanding vigilance and diplomacy rather than force (which is almost always an agent kept out of the calculation): and these two are Hebron and Nabloos.

1. Hebron, which was chronically plagued with the atrocities of 'Abderrahhmân el Amer in resisting the government, or in carrying on dissensions among his brotherhood of Selâmeh, Ahhmad, Hhusain, Amer, and Mohammed.

The family of Amer belongs to Dura, a village two hours' distance from Hebron, and 'Abderrahhmân was the foul, bull-necked leader among them.

Scarcely had the news of the bombardment of Acre (1840) reached Jerusalem and Hebron, than 'Abderrahhmân rode into the latter town, and meeting the local governor, 'Abd el Jowwâd (who held office under the Egyptians), in the street, he drew his khanjar (short sword) and cut him down at a blow, and then strode across the corpse, and waving aloft his blood-stained sword, he proclaimed the reign of his lawful Sultan of Turkey, whose name he thus profaned by using it for his own purposes of ambition, greed, and vengeance.

He then passed on to Jerusalem, repaired to the Mahhkameh, and waving his scymitar over the Kâdi's head, demanded from him a legal decision in writing to

the effect that it is dutiful and meritorious to slay any traitor to the true Sovereign and Caliph of the holy religion. Armed with this he rode back to Hebron and constituted himself governor there.

The Kâdi meanwhile repaired to the Mufti, and to him made a declaration of the circumstances under which the document had been extorted from him, intended by the perpetrator to justify the slaughter of a civilian not engaged in hostilities.

From that time 'Abderrahhmân maintained himself as 'virtual monarch of all he surveyed' until the expedition of Kubrusli Pashà in 1846. He was suffered, however, to return home in a year or two, where he resumed his career of oppressing the peasantry, plundering the helpless Jews in Hebron, and even employing agents to rob travellers upon the roads.

2. Nabloos, anciently Shechem, is the capital of Central Palestine, and ranks next after Jerusalem in importance. It is itself a peculiar locality. The town is strongly posted in the heart of a most fertile territory, and is mostly inhabited by fanatic Moslems; and the large district known as the 'Jebel Nabloos'[1] is a belt of territory extending across the middle of the map of Palestine, from the Mediterranean plain (Sharon) to the Jordan plain (Ghor): it is in fact the country called Samaria in the New Testament. The population there is evidently of a different race from that of other parts of Palestine. They are distinguishable by a mean and cruel cast of countenance. They wear a different head-cap (tarboosh) from others. It is large and slouched on one side.

[1] Jebel Nabloos, *i.e.* 'the Mountain (district) of Nabloos.'

When the factions of Jebel Nabloos were at war with each other, their fighting was more savage and cruel than that of the clans in the Jerusalem territory, south and west.

After observing the important part which the turbulent and fanatic population of Nabloos play in the affairs of Palestine, it is easy to understand the history of Shechem and Samaria as given in the Old Testament—in the Book of Judges, and in the history of the Ten Tribes.

In the spring of this year, 1853, very large bodies of these rough Moslem peasants came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage, in honour of Neby Moosa. It was computed that one-fourth of the population of the Nabloos district came, on account of the thanksgiving vows made in consequence of the spring rains falling after long delay and drought. The crowds in Jerusalem were so great that the Pashà, fearing a collision between them and the Christian pilgrims, ordered out two companies of infantry and cleared the Nabloos folk out of the street leading to the Holy Sepulchre.

The number of the population of the Jebel Nabloos was roughly reckoned at about 30,000 Moslem men capable of bearing arms; 2,000 Christians of the Greek rite; about 40 Samaritans, and a very few Jews (all these besides women and children). The taxes paid by this district were said to amount to 4,500 purses (about 22,000*l.*), an enormous sum, paid half-yearly, three months being consumed each time in the collection.

The city authorities were the Mutesellim or Governor (also called Kaimakâm), the Mufti, the Kâdi, the Nakîb, and the Effendis (notables). There were no European

Consular agents, but England had a native Christian agent who looked after the interests of travellers and of the Missionaries employed by English Societies or by the Bishop.

The Jebel Nabloos was alternately ruled by Kaimakâms taken from two families only, both originating in the city itself; the Pashà being under the necessity of employing in turns one or other of those families, namely, (1) the Tokân leading the Jerâr, and inclined rather to the old conservative tone of local politics; and (2) the 'Abdu'l Hâdi, seconded by Kâsem el Ahhmad with the Jayooseh or Rayân people. This latter party professed more of liberalism in practice, *i.e.* in cunning at keeping up with Constantinople progress, and bidding for popularity with the European Consuls. They were, however, not to be trusted.

The Tokân were considered as of the old Turkish faction or party; the 'Abdu'l Hâdi, as of the Egyptian school of progress.

Of these two great factions, No. 2, known as that of 'Abdu'l Hâdi, was by far the strongest. They had favoured the Egyptians, and were even now looked upon as partisans of Egyptian policy. Their stronghold was the fortified village of Arrâbeh, south-east from Carmel.

This house in 1849 consisted of four brothers:—

1. Mahhmood Bek, the eldest, ruling at Arrâbeh.
2. 'Abdu'l Hâdy.
3. 'Abdu'l Kâder.
4. Hussain, who brought in the Egyptians, but was afterwards poisoned (it is said) by the sister of Ibrahim Pashà (the Egyptian prince) at the *Bahajah* gardens,

near Acre, for having secretly accumulated arms in his house.

This Hussain had four sons.

Mohammed, in 1849 Governor of Gaza, and afterwards exiled.

Abderrahhmân
Salehh
Sáeed
} sons by concubines.

'Abdu'l Hâdy was styled the Bek for his services to the Egyptians.

Both of the great factions thus described have numerous minor auxiliaries, and sometimes fights occurred between some of the smaller parties, and the rest were gradually drawn in. It was so in 1848, when the two halves of the tribe Jerrâr (which was then divided, one part joining each opposite faction) fought, and the respective patrons took their sides.

The Tokân had held rule in Nabloos (the Mutesellim, or Governor, under the Turks, being of their house) from 1848 to 1851. (They were considered Turkish, *i.e.* anti-Egyptian.)

In October of 1851 fortune turned against them, and the chiefs of the Tokân and their ally Shaikh Sadek (Rayân) were exiled out of the country.

Their rival Mahhmood 'Abdu'l Hâdi was then made Governor of Nabloos. His brother, 'Abdu'l Hâdi, was given Jeneen, and their ally, Mahhmood Kasim el Ahhmed, was set over all the Jemaeen (forty-seven villages, mostly westwards).

This lasted till 1853, when the Rayân (on Tokân's side) rose again, bribed with 47,000 piastres, and half the

Jemaeen villages were given to them, the Pashà of Jerusalem giving the other half of those villages to a Turk, his pipe-bearer.

In July 1853 the 'Abdu'l Hâdi faction, represented by Kâsim el Ahhmad, rose in arms and fought several affairs with the Rayân of the opposite Tokân faction.

The Turkish pipe-bearer ran away and took refuge in 'Abdu'l Hâdy's house in Nabloos, and then escaped to Jerusalem.

In August of that year, the Rayân having been always victorious, some of them came to Jerusalem and told the Pashà that, if he would give them leave, they would bring their rivals, the Kâsimites, by the neck into Jerusalem.

But now Kâsim got underhand help from his patron 'Abdu'l Hâdi, and utterly put down the Rayân, burning seven villages, and plundering others. The loss of life to the latter was seven, and forty wounded.

The pipe-bearer then went back to his villages, where, of course, he was making a fortune. As for the Pashà, he profited by the strife, reaping his harvest from all parties.

It must not be forgotten that both sides called in Bedawy allies, from the Desert beyond Jordan, as the Beni Sukhr, or the 'Adwân, and from the western plain of Sharon, where the Abu Kishk tribes roam, north of Jaffa.

(Those between Jaffa and Gaza are the Suwalki, while farther south still is the great tribe of the Tiyâhah, the latter sometimes in alliance with Abu Gosh and his faction, as we have already seen.)

In 1854 the house of Tokân was once more in the ascendant, and Ali Bek Tokân was Governor of Nabloos—on behalf of the Sublime Porte.[1]

It is easy to understand that whenever the Turkish Government was weak, or whenever it suited the Pashà,

[1] In 1854 the state of factions about Nabloos was as follows:—

I. The Tokân and their auxiliaries were,
   1. The Oulâd Berkhâwi, who are Shaikhs of one third of Wadi Sha'eer.
   2. Sadek of Mejdal Yaba and half of Belâd Jema'een; he presided over twenty-two villages. At that time he was in penal exile at Trebizond, but his place was held by his brother Moosa abu Bek'r.
   3. Jerâr, of the Sherkawîyât, eighteen villages (half this tribe joined with the opposite faction).

II. The other faction is known by the name of the 'Nimmer,' and is led by—
   1. The 'Abdu'l Hâdi commanding the Shäarawîyeh east and west; also the Beni Hareth about Jeneen—total, forty-five villages.
   2. Kâsem el Ahhmad, with the other half of the Belâd Jema'een, twenty-two villages.
   3. The Oulâd Jeyooseh, or Ra'yân, commanding the Beni Säab, twenty-four villages.

The patron of this faction is always, beyond dispute, the 'Abdu'l Hâdi of the time being.

The leaders of both factions command not only the above auxiliaries, but through them, of course, their subordinates also; yet these villages again are split into partisan families of hostile sides, to the hearts' content of the Turkish Government.

TERRITORY.

The Jema'een villages form a belt across from the hills of Nabloos to Cæsarea and Jaffa.

The Sha'arawîyeh form a parallel belt to the north of the above.

Wadi Sha'eer is a belt northwards again.

THE ARABS, COMMONLY CALLED BEDAWEEN.

In contiguity with the Jebel Nabloos are the Abu Kishk, few in number, but making themselves felt among the peasantry on the Plain of Sharon on the west.

During prolonged hostile operations the Suwalki are called in from farther south, or the Beni Sukh'r, and the 'Adwân from beyond Jordan on the east.

Thus each of the two great factions has allies among the wild desert Arabs.

for the time being, to promote strife, the Nabloos factions were at open war with each other.

The Ottoman Government was powerless in presence of either of these parties. Indeed, so long as expediency was the only available policy at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an alternate balancing of the two was the best course to adopt. The rivals were always alike ready to declare loyalty to the Sultan, and to outbid in money for attaining ascendancy in office.

The Effendis of the Jerusalem Council enjoyed their shares in such pecuniary benefits; and the successful competitor, although the means employed by him would not bear close scrutiny, was left at liberty to collect his revenue by any processes of extortion or violence throughout his territory, which happily for him was then but little traversed, and therefore not much subject to governmental or consular inspection.

So much for the Jebel Nabloos and its factions.

Among all the rivalries, dissensions, and corruptions of parties above described, the Turkish helmsman had to steer as delicately as he could, without driving any to desperation.

The causes or aims of peasant warfare—the technical name for which is the 'Miâdeh'—have in Palestine seldom or never any connection with government dealings. They arise either from lust of power among the Shaikhs, or hereditary feuds, or from vindictive retaliation. On the latter score a pretty quarrel may be got up at any time; but Wat Tylers or Massaniellos are unknown there.

The 'Thar' or blood-revenge is obligatory upon relatives of the slain to the fifth degree of consanguinity, in a family way of reckoning; but whole villages or factions often take up the Thar on behalf of one or a few individuals on their side, and battles ensue thereupon, till after a series of conflicts some third party comes in as mediator (sometimes this is the Government taking that ignoble office—ignoble for a Government); the loss in killed is counted up on the two sides, and compensation is made for the excess in the balance, by money or money's worth.

Sometimes, however, the state of war ends in a truce ('atweh), renewable, and again renewable till some favourable opportunity occurs of demanding blood, either on the ground of some failure in the sureties to the truce, or, in short, any reason which passion or false honour may invent.

These are matters with which Ottoman governors never interfered authoritatively. So long as taxes were paid in some slovenly manner (usually more than the amount legally due, for the fellahheen are very poor accountants), the people always disclaim any intention of disobedience to the Pashà or the Sultan (whose name even is often unknown).

They were left to themselves to waste human life, to impede or destroy agriculture at their perverse will, and so the country became a desert; as I have known the people of Wad Fokeen, beyond Bethlehem, on finding themselves pressed by a stronger faction than their own, cut down their own vineyards and orange trees, nay even send to auxiliary villages for help in destroying

their olive trees, lest they should become the property of the enemy.

Sometimes the villages are rebuilt, but only after the disaster, and the effect is thus in every such case a march backwards in comfort and civilisation.

In respect of the ruin so entailed, the Arab peasantry seem to differ from the American Red Indians. The principle of long-cherished revenge is the same, and the methods of fighting, by keeping up a battle or the siege of a village slowly, during successive days, is the same; but there is no resemblance in the fact of having corn-fields and orchards cultivated in the intervals, and then having them destroyed by fire or the hatchet.

The people themselves are aware of the evils of dissension, which they call 'fasâd,' but a wilful sower of dissension, technically called the 'mufsed,' is always to be met with, and whether by the ties of clanship, or by personal thirst for retaliation, the unhappy peasants are sure to be drawn into the vortex at the command of their Shaikhs—indeed, a refusal to rise and join would expose them to bloodshed and ruin from both sides.

They have a fable current among them illustrative of this state of things.

Once upon a time the Devil and his hopeful son were passing by a tranquil village, when the latter asked leave to run up the hill (for every village is, if possible, built on a hill) and get a drink of water. The venerable parent objected, 'because,' said he, 'I am sure that you will stir up some mischief there.'

The youth promised to do nothing of which his father would not approve; so permission was given.

Going to a house, he begged from the nearest woman a draught of water, and she took her jar to the well to fetch it.

Now, the house was partitioned between two families of near relations. In the woman's absence the imp observed a calf tied up to a post, and he untied the rope. The calf walked into the other division of the house, where the women had been grinding corn, but were then absent, and he ate up their wheat and flour.

The women ran in and beat the calf; the other arrived with the jar of water, and beat those women for beating her calf; the husband of the mill woman came in, and beat the woman with the jar of water; her husband, on hearing the screams, ran up and beat that man; the people of the village ran in from the threshing-floor, and took different sides in the quarrel; the whole place was in an uproar, and several lives were lost.

The author of it all escaped, leaving them at it, and on being reproved by his father for bringing needless trouble about their ears, quietly said, 'I did nothing to the people—I only saw a poor little calf tied up, and I set it at liberty; but people are always ready to cast their blame on us.'

And so it comes to pass that, from perpetual experience, the maxim circulates among the peasantry in their dialect,

Esh shé kod es Semsĕmeh
Yejeeb el Khail mulejjĕmeh,

'A matter small as a *seed of sesamé* may bring up horses with their bridles on,' *i.e.* may bring in as arbiters the dangerous Bedaween forayers. And the practised 'mufsed,'

or 'Shaitân,' on his side quotes the other proverb—'Cut down a tree by means of a branch from itself.'

Take an exemplification of the stubborn characteristic of these people, together with their deference to native Shaikhs.

A peasant from the south was accused of stealing a cow from his neighbour. Being found in Jerusalem, he was brought before the Turkish Court. The evidence seemed complete, and he was imprisoned—he was bastinadoed, for it was in the time when corporeal punishment was allowed.

He was remanded. He bore protracted confinement; still he persisted in his 'not guilty.' He was again bastinadoed, till his feet were in a pitiable condition.

At length the governor sent for the man's Shaikh, Muslehh el Azizi, who then visited the prisoner in his loathsome dungeon, and taking him aside to a dark corner, Muslehh laid hold of his own beard, and adjured him, 'By this brown thing, did you steal the cow?' On which the prisoner at once confessed to the theft, but added that nothing less than that solemn oath could have extorted from him the avowal.

Shaikh Muslehh himself told me this as an instance of the influence wielded by the hereditary leaders within the country, and the inefficiency of the Turkish Pashàs for any good purpose, their only instrument of ruling being the levying of money and (in those days) the bastinado, and these were incapable of inspiring either fear or love.

Let us continue the narrative of events as they rapidly developed themselves at the period we are treating of.

Beginning with Hebron. Early in 1852, 'Abderrahhmân el Amer had again fallen into the hands of the Government, and a low-class Turk—of course a stranger—was put in his place as Mutesellim.

'Abderrahhmân was for a few days chained and imprisoned in the seraglio of Jerusalem, then allowed to walk about the city by daylight, under the guarantee of three securities; but he very soon effected his escape by night, carrying his chains with him over the city wall.

The Pashà at the time was one Mohammed Hafiz, holding higher rank than any preceding governor there, viz., that of Musheer, or Wali. But he was an old man of exhausted health, and entirely unaccustomed to the rough manners of the Palestinians. The times also were not such as would admit of an unbridled peasantry, who hated the very name of Turk, being overawed by merely an extra pomposity of title. It must be remembered that this 'Abderrahhmân was himself a Fellahh (peasant).

'Abderrahhmân at once superseded the Mutesellim of Hebron, and commenced a furious levying of fines upon the inhabitants, especially on the Jews. These formed a considerable proportion of the population there, and many of them were under the care and protection of the British Consulate. In their distress they applied to us for succour.

Yet what was to be done? To leave them as sheep, a prey to the wolf 'Abderrahhmân, would have a very ill effect throughout the country, wherever there were British protégés to be plundered or molested.

The helplessness of poor old Hafiz Pashà was but too well understood. The only possible course for me to adopt was to repair personally to Hebron, as eye-witness of 'Ab-

derrahhmân's proceedings, in the hope that my presence among our people there might in some degree check the miscreant in his career.

I, therefore, repaired to Hafiz Pashà, induced him to send on a force of thirty Bashi-bozuk, and to give me two for an escort, when I set off, together with my two Kawwâses towards the scene of action.

Scarcely had I left the city when a respectable Moslem rushed before me from among some olive trees, heaping curses, both loud and deep, upon the Turkish Government, and vowing that the only hope of God's creatures lay in their being conquered by some Christian power. His house had that morning been rifled by 'Abderrahhmân.

In ten minutes more I met the Mufti of Hebron, riding on an ass, and attended by a dozen of Hebronites on foot, some of them armed with guns: all, of course, carrying Khanjars (the usual weapon of rustics) in their belts, and all with loud cries imploring me to give an answer, 'If the Pashà could not fight for them, would not the English do so?' They had been driven out of their houses by 'Abderrahhmân.

At the convent of Mar Elias by the road-side we overtook the Bashi-bozuk who had been sent on in advance. Their horses were picketed, the men smoking, and the Captain asleep under a tree; when roused up he made me the excuse that he was waiting for a reinforcement to join him. This was at less than half-an-hour's distance from the city. We passed on without him.

In Hebron I put up, as usual, at the house of the

Jewish Pakeed (temporal business agent), and to my surprise the Spanish Jews (who are Turkish subjects), at all other times so full of protestations of gratitude for my visits, betrayed in their countenances an excessive fright, and they came about me declaring that 'Abderrahhmân 'had done them no harm, and had injured nobody.' One of their leading Rabbis implored me in case of 'Abderrahhmân coming to visit me, as might be expected, not to say that I had come for protection of Jews; for that if I did so, he would be sure to punish them doubly at my departure.

A kawwâs of mine brought word from the streets that numerous houses had been plundered, but no persons killed; that the *Mutesellim* (governor) had shut himself up in his house, while 'Abderrahhmân was in his town-house surrounded by 500 men well armed, and that 100 village Shaikhs were by compulsion ranged on his side. The Government force at the same time in Hebron amounted to four men, besides the two in my company.

All this I was not prepared for; I trusted, however, still to some moral effect, in favour of the Jews, to come from my presence and from looking 'Abderrahhmân straight in the face, but the task was a delicate one, for my own clients were nearly as much frightened as the Spanish Jews.

In the morning early came the doctor of the Lazaretto (a European) and confirmed the worst accounts of the outrages committed by the rebel and his partisans, adding that he had been told it was resolved by them to levy a fine of forty purses (200*l.* nearly) upon the Jewish quarter that morning.

At 8 A.M. the troop from Jerusalem arrived with a rattle of kettledrums, and advancing direct to 'Abderrahhmân, the Captain presented him with a letter from the Pashà; this was received with formality and an answer in writing was promised; but the Captain invited him to come to Jerusalem, there to have his matters inquired into with impartiality—a strange request, seeing that the offender had but recently escaped from custody there.

On this 'Abderrahhmân stormed curses at him, and calling in people from passing along the street, demanded, in a voice of thunder, if he had robbed or done violence to anyone? In terror they shook their coats, and said, 'God forbid!' One after another avouched that 'Abderrahhmân was the best of possible governors, and had done injury to no one.

He then had a paper drawn up to that effect, which the people sealed with their signet-rings: all except the European Lazaretto doctor, who was present, and said that although he had heard of some excesses being committed, he had seen none: so he was excused.

'Abderrahhmân then sent several successive messages to the *Mutesellim* (governor) ordering him to leave the town. These things were reported to me by my own kawwâs, who had witnessed them.

Soon afterwards the Mutesellim came to visit me for ceremony, escorted by the whole troop of Bashi-bozuk from Jerusalem. Two sons of 'Abderrahhmân came also as spies, for Oriental customs allow of the freest walking into each other's houses, especially during ceremonials. Asiatics live all day in public.

As long as these sons remained, a constraint lay upon the conversation; but they left as soon as they heard that I was come to look after English subjects, and that probably the Austrian Consul was following on behalf of his few subjects there.

The Mutesellim (governor) and his secretary exhibited symptoms of the utmost terror, the latter particularly, and I was told in his presence that on the preceding evening a sword had been waved over his head by 'Abderrahhmân.

On their departure 'Abderrahhmân himself came with several sons of various ages, and a large retinue of Shaikhs and armed fellahheen.

Throwing his burly person upon the divân, he shouted, without compliments or preface, "'Abderahhmân is calling for 300,000 piastres, most of which he has given as bribes to the Effendis of Jerusalem, but of which he has drawn up a list, and here it is; so much to one, and so much to another (reading over a list of names and sums), the rest has been plundered from him in the name of Government, on account of the village of Ziph. If the Consul will recover that money for me, I will retire to my own place, put my hand under my head and go to sleep. If not, I will plunder every house in this town, allow neither Christian nor Jew to live here; will mount my mare, repair to my friends the Arabs in the Desert, turn out the dogs who live at Petra, levy sums upon the English who go there, stretch out my legs and enjoy myself.'

All this was uttered in one long sentence, as if he were uneasy in mind till the task was finished which he

had set himself to repeat, and which even his impudence found it a hard matter to accomplish.

I answered that unless he forbore to make threats I would do nothing whatsoever for him; but that if he would speak peaceably, I might send the list to his Excellency Hafiz Pashà, with a note from myself in these words, 'Abderrahhmân has placed this in my hands, and has already acquainted me with its import.'

He then somewhat modified his tone, changed the words 'ride away into the Desert,' for 'ride away to the village,' and instead of 'not permit any Christian or Jew to live in the town,' said he would suffer no English subjects to stay there. These meant of course the Jews under English protection; for no Christians did, or do, reside in Hebron.

My poor Jews (for we were in a Jewish house, that of the Sephardi Pakeed) and others were witnesses of the proceedings. Those children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the saints of Machpelah, close at hand, betrayed the utmost consternation, with pale visages and flashing eyes, as they watched every word and gesture, not knowing what the ruffian might do next.

Finding some abatement of tone in 'Abderrahhmân, I set my dragoman to write a few words to the Pashà in the above sense, but stopped him on 'Abderrahhmân ordering an armed attendant to 'go, bid that fool of a Mutesellim (governor) quit the town before noon, or he should lose his head,' on which I refused to let any letter be written from me; and Shaikh Muslehh el Azizi, of Bait Jibreen, interceding, persuaded the autocrat to allow the poor man time till sunset for collecting his furniture

and packing it on mules for travelling. (According to the laws of etiquette among the peasants, 'Abderrahhmân could scarcely have refused Shaikh Muslehh's request.)

At this point arrived M. Pizzamano, the Austrian Consul, a military man of goodly presence, and 'Abderrahhmân repeated to him his story and demands, but the threat was now enlarged into one of demolishing the town, and keeping up continual marauding parties upon the road, up to the gates of Jerusalem. He was answered with soothing words to the effect that M. Pizzamano would write to the Pashà; but then our hero asked, 'if the two Consuls would not stay in Hebron till the answer should arrive?'

To comprehend the full force of this query, it is necessary to recollect the relative powers of the Turkish Government and the rebel at the moment; it should be understood also that 'Abderrahhmân and the Consuls were seated side by side within a Jewish house, that the whole Jewish Quarter is confined within a block of houses closed by one small gate, and that the door of the apartment itself in which we were was blocked up with a crowd of brawny and armed partisan rebels. We were thus shut into a trap.

'Abderrahhmân rose, however, and left us on the promise of the letters being written to the Pashà; his brother, Mahhmood, remained to see them finished, and he undertook to forward them by a special messenger.

In another hour Pizzamano and I were clear out of the town, as it was high time we should be, for it would never do to allow ourselves to be held as hostages for coercing the Turkish Pashà to concede his claims, on the

merits of which we were ignorant and had no right to examine. It was clear that the idea of impounding the European Consuls had entered his head, and neither our Governments nor that of the Sultan would thank us for bringing on such a complication.

I was afterwards assured that, previous to the Austrian Consul's arrival, 'Abderrahhmân had proposed to his advisers the expediency of carrying off the English Consul to his village (Dura) as a hostage; he also suggested the idea of putting me into an oven: this was, however, but the conceit and bluster of a bully. I also learned that his brother Hhusain, on seeing my Arab mare standing in the Court of the public Khan, had pointed to her, saying to his slave, but in public hearing, 'Would it not be better for the owner of *that* to get away as speedily as possible?' intending this of course to be repeated to me, and alluding to a possibility of the animal being otherwise appropriated by his brother.

Pizzamano and I each left a kawwâs on duty in Jewish houses; I left also my second dragoman for two days, as the best protection we could afford, and our measures really did answer the purpose intended, for with all his insolence 'Abderrahhmân was too cunning to set the Consuls quite against him by ill-treating their people after they had witnessed the true state of affairs.

On passing through the streets it was piteous to hear the European Jews crying after us that truly they had great fear in their souls,[1] notwithstanding all they had before stated to the contrary when in 'Abderrahhmân's presence.

[1] אבל יש פחד; —אך יש מורא בלבינו. Es giebt viel Furcht.

Next morning the Pashà heard my report of the transactions, and he summoned a council to answer the allegations against themselves. I had only to urge the adoption of decided measures for ensuring tranquillity in general, and the safety of English protégés, leaving the means to be chosen by Government.

It was resolved by the puzzled authorities to draw up a letter, inviting 'Abderrahhmân to appear in Jerusalem under any guarantee that he should himself propose, for making good his charges; or indeed in any large town he should name, such as Beyroot, Damascus, etc. The Effendis he had named, engaged on their part to appear personally, and to invite the British Consul of that place to be witness of the proceedings.

I could have no objection to this, unlikely though it was to be accepted, since it was their character which had been assailed; but pressed rather the point of dealing at once with a rebel who had several times, and once in my presence, commanded the Turkish governor to quit his post under peril of his life: who had actually expelled the Mufti, had plundered houses, and cut off a man's hand when endeavouring to save his property, besides threatening to stop intercourse upon the high road.

I recommended a recourse to vigorous action, confident that in presence of even a show of Nizâm (regular) soldiery, the adherents of 'Abderrahhmân would drop off from his side and leave him helpless.

The Austrian Consul coming into the Council Chamber was of the same opinion.

But we were answered that, by existing regulations, the Pashà of Jerusalem and the Commandant of the gar-

rison were together, or separately, precluded from employing the regular military without special licence for each individual occasion from His Excellency the Seriasker (Generalissimo), in Damascus; Bashi-bozuk alone might be used, and these were too few in number for the emergency, neither could they be relied upon for fidelity in action.

Still we advised the employment of as many of the latter as possible, and the taking advantage of dissensions known to exist in and about Hebron.

As Consuls were not members of the official Council, the Pashà requested us to withdraw for a time, which we did, and in an hour afterwards His Excellency acquainted us with the Resolution of the Council, which was to the effect that one more letter be sent to 'Abderrahhmân, requiring a speedy answer, and that in case of no satisfactory reply being returned by two hours before noon on the morrow, the Lieutenant of the troops should go to Hebron with a corps of Bashi-bozuk.

In the morning I sent to the Seraglio for further information, and had the foolish message sent me, that all was now quiet in Hebron!—'Abderrahhmân had ordered all the shops to be opened, and had even engaged to restore tenfold of any plunder that could be proved against him: —that the Mutesellim (governor) was still at his post, but that, nevertheless, a requisition had been sent to the Seriasker for leave to employ the royal troops of Jerusalem at Hebron if necessity should arise, which was not now likely!

Upon this the following remarks may be made:—

Firstly.—That the military force in Jerusalem, at the

time available for defence of the whole extent between the frontier of Egypt and the Plain of Esdraelon, amounted to—

1. A full regiment of Infantry . . .	800
2. Bashi-bozuk, irregulars . . .	160
3. Artillerymen	16
Total	976

Secondly.—That if the active employment of the regulars should be granted, the answer could hardly reach us in less than a fortnight, as both the application and the response would have to pass through the civil governor (Musheer) of Beyroot.

Thirdly.—That the Seriasker in Damascus was no other person than Mehemet Kubrusli Pashà, the same who, in 1846, had chastised 'Abderrahhmân, with Muslehh, Abu Gosh, and others, but had of late mysteriously become a supporter of the former, and had written him a letter while he was lately in confinement at Jerusalem.

Hafiz Pashà read to my Cancellière a letter he had received from the Seriasker, defending 'Abderrahhmân in the strongest terms, as a perfectly loyal subject, while his accusers were traitors, etc., etc. 'Under such circumstances what hope could be entertained from any appeal to Damascus?' said our Pashà.

With regard to the asserted reception by the Effendis of 'Abderrahhmân's bribes, the general reputation of those personages would predispose to a belief in the truth of the charge; but as for the prodigality of the sums written down by 'Abderrahhmân, we may believe it or not as might possibly be proved; perhaps negotiations with Beyroot and Damascus were included.

In a couple of hours after receipt of this assurance from the Pashà that the Mutesellim was still at his post, the troop of Bashi-bozuk returned, escorting that banished functionary and his secretary, thus leaving the Hebron district in unresisted possession of 'Abderrahhmân and his brothers: he himself had gone among the hills to Dura, his own stronghold.

No written reply had been vouchsafed to the Pashà, merely an oral message that 'Abderrahhmân chose to produce his accusations only in Damascus (for which, as above explained, we can see the reason); moreover, that he would only repair in that direction after learning that the Effendis were already there, and then he meant to proceed at leisure, round the south end of the Dead Sea, by way of Kerak and Es-Salt, a journey of more than a week at a common rate of travelling.

Meanwhile a Jew's house (Turkish subject) had been entered and stripped. At the renewed application of M. Pizzamano and myself, the Pashà promised to take two companies of infantry to Hebron, and remain in station there till permission for active service should arrive. This was not done, but even the idea getting about that Nizâm (regular) troops were about to move was sufficient to keep 'Abderrahhmân within some bounds of moderation; though he still kept hold of the town and villages, levying imposts under his own self-appointment, while keeping up the pretence that he was still submissive to the Sultan's rule.

'Abderrahhmân was greatly alarmed when he heard, some time after these incidents, that I had gone to Beyroot, and he sent off his Coptic secretary in such haste

to the Arabs in the South, that he killed the mare he was riding—it was found lying dead by the roadside.

Very little news reached us from Hebron for some time, the terrified people not daring to supply us with any intelligence, until, on the 4th of August, we heard, that the enraged peasantry of certain places had risen and were besieging 'Abderrahhmân's force in Hebron, he being by that time absent in Damascus, and that several lives had been lost in the fray.

Next day, Hafiz Pashà, feeble old man as he was, headed some Jerusalem Nizâm for Hebron, viz.: 300 infantry with 150 Bashi-bozuk, and the two brass field-pieces from the Castle-yard, of small size, but kept in high polish. This force did nothing but show itself, and so encourage the insurgents against 'Abderrahhmân, and thus his cause was kept down for a time. The wild tribes around Gaza were also up and at war. Some hundred lives were lost.

Affairs in Nabloos, on the opposite side of Jerusalem, now required attention, and a reinforcement of Bashi-bozuk was dispatched thither.

While these little episodes kept us on the alert in South Palestine, His Excellency the Seriasker undertook, in the North, a rash invasion of the Lejah of the Haurân, during the summer of 1852, with a formidable expedition of all arms under himself in person, with the object of enforcing a conscription among the Druzes, who, as in all times of revolt, had left the Lebanon, and, associated with the other Druzes of the Haurân, had taken up that impregnable position.

To aid in the expedition, the Jerood (plural of Jerdeh)

or militia without uniform, mere rustics from the fields, were called for in every province of Syria and Palestine, each district to be led by its native hereditary chief.

The event turned out disastrous to Ottoman prestige. The supremacy of Turkey probably required that the Druzes should be made to feel they had a master, if this could be done; but it was incurring a fearful risk to adventure an army into that very peculiar country where no cavalry or artillery, scarcely any infantry, could move—a mere trap to be caught in, so rocky as to have acquired in the old Grecian times the name of Trachonitis, 'the rugged,' or 'stony.' Common rocks, however, may be mastered, but a honeycomb of rocks, where the march is only upon the upright edges of the cells, while the enemy lies within those cells, this is something uncommon—

Hic labor, hoc opus est.

And such a honeycomb is the Lejah.

The Seriasker's (Commander-in-chief) army was routed, in his presence, it is said, and four pieces of artillery captured from him.

Such were the affairs in the North—somewhat less ruinous than befel Ibrahim Pashà there with his Egyptian army.

In November I went to Tiberias to make enquiry into certain grievances of the Jewish *protégés* there.

On issuing from the west gate of Nabloos, we met our southern Shaikhs, Hhamdân of the Ta'amra tribe, Arabs near the Dead Sea; and 'Othmân el Lehhâm, returning from the Druze expedition, well bronzed by the sun. They had been associated, on the Sultan's side, with

the Jerood (levies) of Nabloos, which in all amounted to 4,000 men, and they had much to tell in describing the wonderful Lejah.

A truce having been made with the enemy, these auxiliaries were disbanded till further requirement, which was not likely to take place that year.

All along the highways we met parties of Jerood returning to their homes, fully armed, walking with the swaggering gait, common in that district, often singing in chorus and often firing off their muskets.

It would probably have been dangerous for small companies of travellers to be out in the evenings in such a condition of affairs. My party, when augmented by some travellers who begged to be allowed to join us, was twenty in number.

At Tiberias it was ascertained that considerable excesses had been committed by the peasant militia on their dismissal. During several days these scamps of the Jebel Nabloos had taken possession of Jewish houses, and even stabled horses and asses in the synagogues.

As the regular army was encamped near Samâkh, at the southern end of the Lake, I went there on a visit to the two military commanders—the one of cavalry, the other of infantry, each force 2,000 in number, with eight pieces of cannon to the whole.

The spectacle was imposing on the approach, as the tents were pitched with perfect regularity of lines on a grassy plain between the Jordan (which we forded at Umm el Kanâter) and the eastern hills. The lake being its northern limit, the site was one exceedingly well chosen.

The coloured tents of the officers and the posted sentinels enlivened the military scene, and amusing enough it was to see the picketed horses, switching their thousands of tails in straight lines, and swinging regular as pendulums in the blazing sunshine.

With Ahmed Pashà, of the cavalry, I found 'Abd'ul Hadi, the Governor of Nabloos, to whom the complaints of the Jews of Tiberias were at once represented.

With Mustafa Pashà, of the infantry, a hardy grey-bearded soldier, I found some military acquaintances of the Jerusalem garrison in previous years, and that bigoted old Shaikh Ahmed Jerâr, of Jeba, who, two years before, immediately on my entering his house, had growled out, 'So the Sultan is giving away all the land of Islâm, bit by bit, to the Christians.'

Old Mustafa gave me some interesting details of the recent expedition, one-sided of course, and produced an outline sketch of the Lejah labyrinth, with the village of Edhr'a (ancient Edrei), made by a Hungarian officer, who had ventured thither in disguise previous to the operations. It was a wretchedly deficient piece of work.

After the Seriasker's withdrawal to Damascus, this camp had been formed at Samakh for overawing the Jebel 'Aj'loon, *i.e.* the high ground east of Jordan, and for calling the poor Ghawârineh Arabs[1] to account for having plundered the wheat stores of the Government, collected in that neighbourhood—so it was said.

The Turkish commanders also professed to be awaiting

[1] Arabs of the Ghor, or Jordan plain, poor creatures, neither Bedaween nor peasants, living along the banks of the river in booths made of the papyrus cane.

a reinforcement of 12,000 men from Constantinople, in order to renew the Druze affair after the expiration of the truce—an incredible fiction, for firstly, Constantinople was unable at the time to spare any military succour; and next, the winter was coming on, which is always severe in the Haurân.

In truth, no such aid did arrive, and the truce died a natural death.

One effect of our visit to the camp was that the petty and insolent authorities of Tiberias-town, on my return there, crouched before me with abject flattery. Some years before I had succeeded in having the same men displaced from office for maladministration, to the great relief and joy of all the population, Moslem as well as Jewish, but this time they promised to be good!

After a week's excursion about Galilee, we found some of the cavalry and infantry still about Tiberias, glorifying themselves on their victories gained over the miserable Ghawârineh, by capturing their stores of grain, under pretence of its being the very same harvest that had been pillaged before their arrival.

The incidents here recounted will afford some idea of the state of Palestine in 1852, and matters did not mend in 1853.

For a while Hebron was in tranquillity, and in April I found the inhabitants reviving in spirit after the long career of 'Abderrahhmân's tyranny.

He had been displaced for the moment once more; the petty manufacture and trade of the place, chiefly that of rude glass-ware, was resumed; and a curious symptom of the new state of things was described to be

an increase in the number of marriages, for under the old oppression 'Abderrahhmân levied fees upon all weddings, which was complained of as a tax impeding the fulfilment of that important duty of mankind—marriage.

Yet in travelling westwards from Hebron I met a shepherd leading out his flock, himself riding an ass, with a gun slung over his shoulder. This did not look much like a poetic pastoral group, represented by

> Ludere quæ vellem calamo permisit agresti;

and farther on, all the peasants were found in similar armament, for

> Undique totis
> Usque adeo turbatur agris.

In a valley between Senâbrah and Dair Nahhâz we were told of fighting going on ahead of us, but this time it was against the Tiyâhah Arabs (Bedaween), who had come up from the Desert in large force.

At the latter place a consultation of village chiefs was being held. So sending up my salutations, with a request for a pitcher of water from the well, the information was given in return, with their compliments, that 'Abd en Nebi (the popular 'Azrael') had been wounded in the knee, but that the village of Bait Jibreen had been rescued from the invaders, thirty-five of whose corpses were lying around it, including one of their best men, named Amer.

We passed on to Gaza, where, next morning, some of the slain Arabs were brought for interment. The rest had been taken on to Khan Yunas.

In the Gaza district, my kâwwas going into a village

to get me some water discovered a run-away tax-farmer of Ibrahim Pashà's government in Egypt, who was hiding here unknown to the Turks.

Two months later a battle was fought at 'Ain Carem, within an hour of Jerusalem, on the old dispute for the Hasanîyeh villages, between Abu Gosh, with his Beni Mâlik, and 'Othmân Lehhâm, with his forces of 'Arkoob; but the Government had been able to interfere, and bring about a truce of twenty days.

About the same time a similar affair took place between Selwân (Siloam)—under the walls of the city—and Bait Sahhoor. Between these belligerents likewise the Pashà succeeded in effecting a truce for fifteen days. Wonderful success! The worst enemy of Turkish dominion could not desire a much more complete state of disorganisation throughout Palestine during the great crisis in the capital itself.

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY—*continued.*

Consular tour to the North—Protection of British interests—Moral influence only—Tyre and Sidon—Lebanon—Excitement in Beyroot—State kept up by the Pashà—Dresses—Reduction of Tobacco dues—Moslem gratitude—Sidon and Tyre—Tibneen—Persian Prince—Nazareth—Galilee—Nabloos and Samaria—Return to Jerusalem.

If the condition of things around Jerusalem was bad, that of the country elsewhere was no better, as I had opportunities of ascertaining, seeing that in those days there was a standing rule of our Foreign Office that the Consul, though holding his principal residence at Jerusalem, was to make occasional journeys about the country for the purposes of supervising the Agencies in the ports along the coast, for affording them instruction or strengthening their influence with the local authorities, also for redressing wrongs affecting British *protégés* in the inland towns.

The limits of the Jerusalem Consulate at that time extended from the northern boundary of the Vice-Consulate of Saida, that is to say the river Damoor, to the Egyptian frontier on the south, and from the Mediterranean on the west to the river Jordan on the east, having thus three Pashalics to deal with, viz., Jerusalem, Acre, and Beyroot.

Had I not had public duties engrossing time and

strength, but leisure for making antiquarian and scientific researches over a country so rich in archæological and other interests, the opportunities would have been most advantageous for acquiring and imparting information of such a nature. I did, however, what I could.[1]

At my first arrival in the country, in 1846, the Consular Agencies were five in number, viz.—Jaffa, Caifa, Acre, Soor, and the Vice-Consulate of Saida. These formed our Cinque Ports. In 1847, however, the English Agency of Jaffa was called a Consulate, and made, like those of the other Europeans there, dependent on Beyroot.

On the approach of the war, it appeared desirable to gain prompt intelligence of occurrences throughout Palestine, for painful emergencies might suddenly arise among a fanatic and turbulent population, especially in case of adverse rumours arriving (true or untrue) about failures in the operations of armies at a distance. It became also necessary to establish points of communication along the main roads, not only for the above object, but also for affording countenance and aid to travellers.

As, however, Europeans could not be got for such duty in new stations without salaries, I obtained in several places native correspondents, who became very useful. One was resident at Gaza, one at Ramlah, and another at Nabloos, this latter being an important post on the highway northwards, and always taken into their route by travellers from Europe.

At Tiberias and Safed, where we had numerous Jews

[1] The English Consulate in Jerusalem is now curtailed to the dimension of the Pashà's jurisdiction, as then were those of the other European Powers. The Vice-Consulate of Caifa, revived in 1853, has also been abolished.

under British protection, I required one person in each place to be recognized by the *protégés* as my correspondent, such as the other Consuls had had nominally long before in those places. For Bethlehem, and also Hebron, I relied upon occasional correspondence.

With these threads in my hand, besides the line of seaports recognized by our Government, I possessed sufficient means of gaining knowledge of the state of affairs, and in most matters I had earlier and more correct intelligence than the Turkish Governor could gain within the limits of his territory, sometimes to his particular vexation, as he had rather that certain matters should be unknown, or known only to himself and the officials, whom he might be able to influence, directly or indirectly.

The only means at my command for protection of the British subjects and *protégés* scattered about were what are termed moral.

Not a British ship of war was within hundreds of miles of us. Prompt action through the Turkish authorities was at the time simply impossible, since they themselves were helpless.

To know the country and the rural chiefs well, to keep up friendly intercourse with all equally, unless during flagrant ill-conduct—and somehow to impress them with a belief that sooner or later England would hold a reckoning with them if our people were molested or injured—that the Sultan as well as Europe would hold them answerable if Christians suffered harm, and that I should meanwhile write down everything and note all offenders—such a course of practice seemed the only mode of securing British and Christian lives at that period.

Nothing was so much dreaded among the habits of Europeans as this last. Even the ill-conditioned 'Abderrahhmân Amer once said in my presence, that there was one thing he feared, and that was a little book which the English Consul carried in his pocket, in which everything was written down, and from which, although not mentioned at the time, it was sure to be brought to light some day or other.

In the summer of 1853 it became desirable for me to confer with His Excellency the Musheer, in Beyroot, on various matters of business.

I went thither by way of Jaffa, arriving there in time to see the mail-steamer come in from the north. She carried at the fore both the French and Prussian colours, indicating that the Consuls of France and Prussia were on board, returning from Constantinople, where, as before stated, they had been for receiving intelligence and instructions under the novel circumstances of the time. The former of these told me that the English and French squadrons had both entered the Dardanelles, the English first.

These tidings had a remarkable effect over the town, animating the loyal and silencing the people who were not well-disposed. The Christians reasoned that if England and France joined the Turks in actual warfare, there need be no further apprehension of a 'Holy war' between Moslem and unbeliever, for it might be hoped that, for the sake of those Christian allies, the Moslems would abstain from cruelties like those still remembered from the events of thirty years before.

As the steam-packet was returning to the capital in-

stead of passing on to Egypt, some deserters from last year's conscription were put on board under guard, and we were told that she was to take in troops at Saida, as a Turkish ship of war had already done at Bayroot.

We went northwards along the coast by Hharam, Um Khalid, and Cæsarea. After Cæsarea our ride was along a beautiful level, and we forded the pretty river Zerka.

At sunset, just on passing the small islands, the full moon rose on the opposite side, and suddenly there appeared before us two wild Arabs of the Abu Shusheh tribe, on fine mares, one of them carrying a spear gleaming in the moonlight.

The chief kâwwas unslung his gun and galloped up to them, crying out, as usual on such occasions, 'Shu Dzul?' (What is the man?) He had to repeat it three times before they spoke, and by that time we were all up to them.

At length, however, one said, 'Ashhâb' (friends), which was more agreeable than if they had said, 'Jeet-ak' (I am at you), and so the two parties crossed each other, but without complimentary salutations. We kept on our steady pace, with deep shadows, pacing monotonously in a line almost at the edge of the rolling waves.

Next morning we reached Acre, the site not only of our modern victories, but of many a rendezvous of historic characters in old times, both before the Christian era and afterwards. And if Granada be rightly styled 'El ultimo sospiro del Moro,' just as truly may this place be named 'the last sigh of the Crusaders,' it being the latest post

surrendered by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John in termination of the Christian Crusades in Palestine.

We had no leisure for remaining there, and although it was in the season of Ramadân, the Pashà, on an explanation being made, kindly accepted my visit at once. We found him on a terrace under an arbour of vine and flowers, alongside of a springing fountain, and a full train of servants and soldiers in attendance. He was an old man with a snow-white beard, and officiously polite. We both succeeded in making the interview agreeable.

Returning to the lodging I decided a suit brought before me, between an Ionian and a Turkish subject, in favour of the latter, to the satisfaction of the general public, at a time when every step was keenly watched; for the Moslems had an opportunity of seeing once more that fair play was to be expected from Europeans, even though a Christian should be the loser.

At that period, no other European flag than ours was permitted within the walls of the fortress, and there was a peculiar fitness of things in that fact. Our Agent, Finzi, is an Italian, and his residence there dates from a period anterior to the bombardment of 1840.

On the surrender to our forces, the military Commissioner of the Turks was conveyed ashore in the Admiral's gig, accompanied by a naval officer of ours, who, on reaching the gate upon the beach, politely waved his hand, allowing the Commissioner to enter first, with the Turkish formula of invitation, 'Buyurun Effendim;' then turning to Finzi, who was with them, he bade him hasten into the town and lay hold of any house he might choose for making it the British official residence.

From his own feeling of prospective prudence, however, the Agent neither selected the best nor even the largest house: he took one in the middle of the town, unobtrusive to sight, but which had a good spring of water within it, and for this he had ever since paid a small rent to the Government there.

At Soor (Tyre) our halt was in the house of the Agent 'Attallah, a luxurious residence open to the sea breeze and free from bustle or business; only the plague of the most fulsome compliments, from natives of all ranks, was so mendacious and incessant that a torture of mosquitos or even fleas would have been a relief from them.

In the morning (Midsummer's Day) came visitors of the town. First the Bishop of the Greek Catholic sect, that to which most of the Christians there, our host and family included, belonged. These people are of Greek Orthodox origin, but in later ages they have accepted the supremacy of the Pope of Rome under stipulations for retaining their own vernacular language (Arabic) in Divine Service, their own church festivals, and the old style of Calendar. These were followed by the merchants of the place.

The town of Soor has a respectable population of above 2,000, carrying on a trade in corn and tobacco, mostly with Egypt, a quiet, pretty place, where almost every house has a garden and one or more trees in it. Many of these are palms.

It is true that there are bare rocks at the water's edge, as at Jaffa and other towns along the coast, upon which fishers lay their nets to dry, but the present posi-

tion of this new or insular Tyre is not such as specially to warrant the quotation of Scripture for describing a scene of utter desolation.

In Soor and Saida we found all ears eager for news of the expected war. The idea was there as everywhere that events must issue in being a trial of strength between Islâm and Christendom, during which all Christians and all Moslems would necessarily become enlisted, if not as active combatants, at least as partisans of one side or the other, and sharing its fortunes: an idea in which the parties of that district are trained from their mother's nursing as sure at some time to come to pass.

After Saida towards Beyroot, numerous coffee-stations occur along the beach, which are kept by the Customs look-out men, and are considered as some protection for passengers against highway robbery.

At one of these halts just after Mo'allakah and under the pleasant village of Naïmeh upon the mountain skirts, with its Maronite Convent, we saw a Maronite priest smoking his pipe among the muleteers and common passengers; he looked a clever, idle, and sensuously disposed personage; his talk was of mulberry trees, the price of silk at the various seaports, and political news from the seat of war.

At this village of Naïmeh was a large silk factory, established jointly by the Ameer Raslân (the Government responsible ruler over the Druzes and Moslems in the Lebanon), and Shaikh Yusuf Abu Neked; my companion advised the priest to promote setting up a factory likewise, and appropriate its profits to founding schools among his

people. He mumbled out some sort of a reply, not worth notice if I could remember it.

We were now in a Christian country. Moslems were but seldom met with, and my young friends (Christians) rode first-rate animals, and carried silver-ornamented sabres. At a Khan we got bread, olives, cheese, soured milk (leben), onions and eggs, not forgetting the delights of the summer water-melons; there was a curious medley too of travellers assembled, speaking French and Italian as well as Arabic and Turkish.

We passed the well-remembered scenes and objects of former years, such as the white villages sparkling irregularly upon the hills, among them Shwaifât, where the Ameer Raslân resided; then the distant Jebel Suneen, towering to the sky with its perpetual snow and the dark pine forest before us.

Upon the beach we were assured by a tall fellow girt about with pistols, sword and musket, that at that spot in the morning, blood had spurted from his nose and ears, the effect of heat upon the head. The weather was very hot.

Arriving in Beyroot we found ourselves among scenes much more animated and Europeanised than those of South Palestine and Jerusalem.

There were new churches; an establishment for the Sisters of Charity; the streets were named in Arabic and the houses numbered; only instead of being numbered for the street, they were numbered so, and so, of the whole town, by which it came to pass that I was lodged at No. 7, Beyroot, the residence of a junior member of the Abela family.

The new barracks (new to me) were occupied; and the band performed at sunset; they had harsh instruments and, keeping no time together, were wretched performers; they played the air of the 'Parisienne.' How different from the enthusiasm with which I had heard it sung and played in Paris when newly composed, in July 1830!

I was assured that the population of the town had now risen to 35,000 taxable males, of whom a large proportion were living in villas with gardens outside the walls (but no exact census had as yet been possible in the East), a surprising increase, if true, since the 1,500 reported in 1836,[1] and attributable to the development of commerce, although Beyroot is without a harbour, having only an open roadstead.

A large proportion of the residents are French, Italians, and Greeks. Yet with all this I found great excitement existing among the native Christian population, and apprehensions of a massacre by the Mohammedans, such as they had experienced thirty years before on the Greek declaration of Independence.

At first they had swaggered and boasted of having the Maltese and Ionian seamen from the shipping on their side, and said that the Moslems, from being placed in the centre of the town, packed together, had most reason to be afraid. But soon their language abated in tone, and we learned that the rich Christian merchant family Bustros had taken to flight.

Meetings were now held in divers houses for concerting plans, and sending off messages to the hills (Lebanon),

[1] During the last twenty years the ratio has progressed more considerably still.

imploring aid from the more sturdy population there; arms likewise and ammunition were being rapidly bought up. The Russian Consul-General was away up in the mountains for the summer.

After Eshé (prayer-hour, about two hours after sunset), I went by appointment to His Excellency the (governor) Musheer, for a visit of ceremony, leaving business for the morrow.

Oriental luxury, such as we are not used to in the South, was shown in this Ramadan evening in the strength of the summer season. We were received in a garden profusely embellished with oleander, hollyhocks, and jessamine—an arcade at the end being hung with coloured lamps, a fountain of water sparkling in the midst, and the military band playing outside.

His Excellency Wameek Pashà was reclining on silk cushions in a corner of the Ewân, and we were placed on gilded chairs obliquely before him, and supplied with diamond-ornamented Chibooks, coffee in gold outercups (zurfs) and delicious iced sherbets. Ameen Effendi, his coadjutor, was likewise on a chair, and he spoke excellent French, having resided long in Paris. He had also once paid a visit to London.

Next day, at the British Consulate, I was informed that a private letter from the Dardanelles described the English and French Fleets as being anchored in Besika Bay, having a steamer continually plying between them and the capital.

During the afternoon of the same day we learned that the Governor, Wameek Pashà, had summoned the Shaikhs of the quarters of the town, and had rebuked

them for allowing a panic to gain ground at such a crisis, and turning to the Christian representative he demanded if it were true that his people were collecting arms and ammunition? The answer was 'Yes; but merely for self-protection.' Whereupon His Excellency rose up in a fury and left the room, but Izzet Pashà (the general of division in command of the Turkish troops) followed, and persuaded him to return.

The result of the interview was that sentinels were posted at the town gates to prevent the transit of arms, but they were not to meddle with houses or persons, either inside or outside of the gates; and a patrol company was ordered to circulate through the streets by night. All this would be utterly useless in case of real insurrection—seeing that the town walls were very much broken in the intervals between the gates.

The fortress of Acre was not much better off, for the garrison had been drawn off for Constantinople service, and only eleven cannoniers remained to mount guard.

On that and the following night we transacted business with the Governor at the Seraglio, but without satisfactory result. The state of our reception was in no way diminished. Among the refreshments served were ices of different colours and flavours—in more liberal quantities than in England—hard and cold, in beautiful porcelain dishes on a large silver tray; and as for conversation, no harsh Arabic was to be heard, only soft flowing Turkish and Italian. All disagreeable topics were avoided—everything was delightful and polite.

What a picture this gave of Turkish official management of troublesome business amid those troublous times

—no loss of presence of mind—no hurry—all sweet, luxurious, and serene; indifferent to the fate of individuals and communities, while believing in the ultimate triumph of Islâm, whatever might betide the fortunes of other nations and creeds.

The next day was spent in visiting old friends and antiquities. At night the town was patrolled by two companies of twenty men each, with an officer, taking alternate turns. At a late hour, however, the Christians were singing riotously about the streets,—perhaps the Turkish patrols had gone home to bed. The Christians still continuing to send off property to the mountains, the Musheer wrote a circular letter to the Consuls to engage their assistance in restoring public confidence.

News arrived that the allied fleet off Besika had been augmented, and that an attempted insurrection of Hellenists at Constantinople had been suppressed.

During a ride to the Nahr el Kelb (Dog River) to see the ancient sculptures—Roman, Egyptian, and Assyrian, upon the rocks there—we came upon a party of Maronites[1] at the coffee-station. They were vain-gloriously proclaiming to each other what they had done before, and were then prepared to do, against the Druzes. It was well that none of these were there to overhear them.

My poor Moslem kâwwases seemed lost in such a

[1] The Maronites (named after their teacher Maroon) are descendants of the ancient inhabitants, who, being Christians, submitted to the Roman Church at the first Crusade in the twelfth century. The Druzes are [so-called] Arabs who took possession of their part of the Mountain (Lebanon), then an empty waste, in 821. They afterwards adopted the tenets of Hakem as taught by his adherent Mohammed Ibn-Ismail ed-*darâzi*, from whom they have taken their name of 'Druzes.'

country, among the motley peoples of Europeans, with Maronites and Druzes for the native population instead of Moslems.

We left Beyroot on July 2, for the Lebanon, on our way southwards—delighted to escape from the furnace heat of the town, and from its exciting affairs—to the refreshment of the mountains. Passing through Abeih, Dair el Kammar, and Beteddeen, to Mokhtara, I had an interview with the Druze chief, Sa'eed Bek Jonblât, who is now, alas! dead, and only an important personage of local history, and of the narratives in our Parliamentary Blue Books.

Returning thence by way of Joon to Sidon, after the first night's sleep, a deputation of merchants came very early in the morning to express their gratitude for the immense relief afforded to them, as they believed, by my intervention above a year before on behalf of our British traders, when the duties on tobacco had been at once reduced from 200 to 12 per cent., *i.e.* from an illegal impost levied by the Customs officer to the dues leviable according to law.

The speeches of these people were overpowering, their parables eloquent, and the anecdotes detailed remarkable, as, for instance, it was stated that an immediate increase took place in one year's export of tobacco, viz., from 6,000 to 9,000 bales; and, of course, this gave greater employment to the poor.

The amusing gasp of the Kâdi (Mohammedan Judge) with unspeakable surprise when he heard of the change, was one of the incidents worth seeing, for he was himself

largely indebted to the Custom House when he found himself thus unexpectedly relieved.

What was law for the British traders was, of course, law for everybody else, though none had ventured to seek for justice. Hence the delight at discovering that the legitimate action of the Jerusalem Consul, on behalf of the British subjects entitled to his protection, had wrought out for all—Moslems and Christians, of various nationalities—a deliverance so welcome and unlooked for.

Next came in the said Kâdi, with a train of thirty merchants, nearly half of them Moslems, who averred that I had saved the town from destruction, for that the commerce could not have subsisted for another year under the oppression of the local authorities.

The chief export trade from Sidon is tobacco, grown in the neighbouring districts; and the principal houses, which are forty in number, have each some minor dependant houses, so that at least 200 families had been saved from impending ruin. Application had been made in vain to the local Governors, and the Customs officers had threatened them with vengeance if they should dare to complain to Constantinople.

It must be remembered that with the system of farming the taxes the local Governors have little or no power to redress wrongs inflicted on the population by those who collect the revenues.

The merchants had then applied to the local Consular Agents, but the Russian, the American, and I think others, being Turkish subjects (and therefore possessed of no protection whenever they might happen to be out of office), told them that since the English Consul had taken

up the matter—for his people, they (the Moslem subjects of the Sultan) would be sure to get the same privileges, or exemptions for the arrears, as the Europeans were expecting, when he procured the revision of the tarif according to law.

The Consular Agents were themselves all traders in silk and tobacco, and they thought it safer to wait for the help to come to them. The British Consular Agent himself and his family (the Abelas—of Maltese extraction) were likely to be gainers by the abatement of the exorbitant claims of arrears by 'una considerabilissima somma.'

After this party there came running in another Moslem, named Hhaj Hhasan (he having been out of town when the former deputation entered). Among other things he declared that in the course of his business journeys over the districts of Belâd Bashârah and Belâd Shukeef he had heard the native peasant children invoking blessings on him who had procured so great benefits for those districts.

This last effusion of gratitude referred to the recent deliverance which had been effected for them from payment of one-fifth, instead of the legal tax of one-tenth, on all agricultural produce (in its raw state, and previous to becoming an article of commerce in the towns). In these districts the agricultural produce was, of course, almost exclusively tobacco.

Here then, at Sidon—and this is an important town—the Moslems were clearly in a friendly mood towards the British Consular authorities, and I might hope, even in spite of the excitement in politics having stirred up such dangerous fanatical antagonism throughout

the country, to exert some influence in favour of the native Christians. For the time the effect was excellent and most opportune.

It is, however, grievous to have to add that the rejoicing of the town was premature. The relief turned out to have been only a suspension of the making up of accounts, till the final decision should be brought from Constantinople. The delay had lasted so long that the people believed that they had gained their cause.

My appeal to the Porte had nevertheless some good effect. Claims were really reduced, and the Customs officer was rebuked for his rapacity; time was also allowed for gradually paying up arrears, after which things went on again in their old jog-trot of partiality and shuffling.

Going southwards our next station was Tyre (Soor). Here too we found the question of the tobacco duties was making a great stir. There came to us a Tyrian deputation of the tobacco-traders headed by the Mohammedan Judge (Kâdi) and by the new Governor of the town (of course also a Moslem) to express their gratitude, and point upwards to the English broad flag overhead.

Before we left Soor a public breakfast was given to me, which was presided over by a Moslem merchant who had benefited by the abatement of the extortionate tobacco duty.

We were received in a court, trellised over with vine, where jets of water were playing among flower-beds and between the spreading foliage of banana; pipes and coffee with conversation wiled away the ceremonious interval before the feast was served up.

When this appeared, it was laid out—as nearly as people understood it—in European mode, and the waiting was performed by youths of the best Christian families, who had volunteered this attention; the black slaves looking on in hopeless ignorance of the European proceedings, which were after all but imperfectly comprehended by the others. Pears and grapes were among the fruit, though hardly ripe (this being early in July).

On our departure a large escort of nearly all the town, Moslem as well as Christian, conducted us along the road towards Hiram's tomb, near the village of Hhanawaë. Here also a good feeling had been established, which was most opportune and useful at a moment when it was so desirable to foster, by every means, a friendly disposition towards Christians on the part of the Mohammedans.

This whole business of the tobacco dues afforded an instance, among a thousand others, of the injury done to the country and to the Sultan by the system of tax-farming.

What signified it to these bloodsuckers whether agricultural enterprise was paralysed, or the Sultan's government detested, and the revenues diminished? So long as the farmer, holding his office for a short fixed period, could squeeze money out of the people, he cared not.

He had bought at auction the right to tyrannise during a certain number of years over the agricultural produces and over the importing merchants. Not a bale of tobacco could be shipped without his seal, and that seal could not be had unless his demands were satisfied.

To whom could the poor people complain? The Government had sold the power to the tax-farmer, and

had armed him with means by which he could coerce into submission all who hesitated to pay his demands.

He could practically shut the seaport, preventing any tobacco from being shipped, and thus throw the whole crop upon the hands of the peasant producers, while at the same time ruining the merchants who were anxious to export and thus fulfil their contracts in other places.

To get rid, even at a nominal profit, of their crops, the cultivators had been obliged to submit to the tax-farmer, while the merchants had also yielded rather than incur disgrace through breach of contract.

I was told that the tax-farmer had so many relations among the *employés* of the European Consulates in Beyroot, that no one had been found to heed the appeals of these poor people under the crushing burden laid upon them in the name of the Turkish Government.

Besides the extortionate export duty levied at the port, the peasantry (native) had been made, as before said, to pay one-fifth of their crops instead of the lawful tax of half that amount, *i.e.* one-tenth on all agricultural produce.

Thus matters stood, when a vigorous protest made by my Consulate on behalf of British traders brought relief, not only to them, but to all, Christians and Moslems alike.

Nothing could have been better timed for giving me, at this critical period, a moral influence among the fanatical Mohammedan population of a very large district now, which I was able to exercise on behalf of the terrified Christians, for their protection, when other means were not within reach, for curbing the political and religious

excitement caused by the fever of the Russian war against Turkey.

The above case will give some idea of the manner in which duties are levied in the Turkish Empire by rapacious tax-farmers, not unfrequently Christians, who have bought the office, and who enrich themselves at the expense of the peasant population and of the commercial classes in the towns.

The Imperial Treasury in Constantinople receives but a small proportion of the sums wrung from the unhappy producers.

Enterprise is checked, the resources of the country cannot be developed. The Government and the governed are wronged. This case also shows the effect of having British subjects settled in the land, who through their Consular protectors are able to claim redress against extortion such as is here described.

Redress given to British subjects in any one instance is naturally followed up by a claim for equal justice from other foreigners, suffering under similar exactions, and then the native Mohammedans and others can no longer, for very shame's sake, be refused some relief by their own Mohammedan rulers.

The laws of the land are good if only justly administered, and wherever in Turkey there are British settlers whose interests are protected by an efficient Consul, there all other settlers and the natives profit indirectly and share in the justice which, if granted to one class, cannot in decency be wholly refused to the others.

After leaving Tyre, and on reaching the highest elevation of our hilly road, we looked back to take leave

of the Mediterranean, and a few more paces brought us to the fine view of the whole Belâd Beshâra, backed by the Mount Hermon.[1] Tibneen (one of the capitals of the district) lay in my homeward route. It stands in a conspicuous position, and was then the stronghold of Hamed el Bek.

On approaching that grand old Crusaders' castle, we were the observed of many beholders in gay clothing upon the parapets, and soon our horses' tramp rattled within the paved passage of the outer gate.

In the divân we were received by a relative of the chief, Hamed el Bek, surrounded by about thirty Shaikhs of villages, who were paying their Bairâm ceremonial visits, arrayed in bright coloured robes, with gold embroidery.

All rose in silence. Water was brought for hands and face washing, and incense was burnt as a compliment. By my side I remarked an old man of dignified deportment, but with a loud voice, of whom more will be said hereafter.

After sherbet and coffee had been served, the Bek himself entered in a uniform of blue and gold, which had been sent him from Constantinople; and we afterwards learned that the delay in his coming to welcome his guests had arisen from his wearisome efforts to get on his uniform over some of his Arab costume, some parts of the dress having got split in the operation.

He was a wrinkled old man, with a black beard, in part dyed with henna, in honour of the festival. He was

[1] The Belâd Beshâra is the little known and fruitful district lying east and south from Tyre—probably 'Galilee of the Gentiles.'

hospitable, lively in conversation, and told old tales well.

A great deal of ceremony is at all times observed among this peculiar people, the Metâwilah, who were until that time, and are even now, so little known to Europeans. Every fresh arrival of a native guest was a serious affair; first, there was a silent kissing all round of those present, on each side of the face, and holding the right hands during the operation, with invoking of benedictions; then a circular bow to the assembled company, ending with a loud prayer for blessings and peace, on the new comer taking his seat.[1]

The use of henna dye is more abundant than among our population of the South. I observed that several of the beards present were coloured with it, some partially, some entirely. One man had his feet thus embellished, and even some horses' tails shared the festal decoration. It must be remembered that we had arrived during the Fast of Bairâm, the Ramadân Fast being lately ended.

The Bek dined with me and my party, but, unable to manage the use of a fork, he resorted to the use of those instruments for dining which were invented before forks. The other guests dined according to their own customs, in divisions of about a dozen each, with a large tray of viands for each group.

After the banquet, and when the great room was lighted up as well as an Arab saloon in country places can be lighted up, a party of Bedaween minstrels were

[1] The inhabitants of the Belad Beshârah are of the Shiah sect of Moslems—followers of Ali, and hence called Metâwilah. They are of the same sect as the Persians, and detest the Soonnee sect, to which the Turks and Arabs of Syria belong.

introduced for singing; their only accompanying instrument was a small violin with two strings, called the Rebâbeh, played with a bow, and held downwards.

The preliminary tuning over, a discordant bawling commenced, the simple air of the Rebâbeh holding no connection with the tune that was sung, but coming in between the pauses—at least so it seemed to my poor European ears.

The dialect of the songs was scarcely intelligible to us, being the high poetic language of Antar and the Mo'allakât.

Our host, however, who took pleasure in hearing such compositions, and prided himself on his familiarity with the desert Arabic, translated for us in a subdued voice as they went on.

One song was in the form of a dialogue:—

'I have a mare beautiful and swift, she will run against the smell of gunpowder.
If you desire to be a ruler of your people, you must give your son and grandson hostages to the Turkish Pashâ.'
'I will not give these as hostages to the Pashâ, and yet I will be the governor.
The Pashâ is but one man, but I am equal to a thousand,' &c., &c.

It was to be hoped that in the above there was no allusion to personal history. Then followed songs on topics of war among the tribes, which after a time became tedious.

The conversation then turned to the subject of hawking, and I described something of our European practice, knowing that in that part of Syria hawking is a favourite pastime. The Bek invited me to share in their diversion during the season: it is of two kinds—that

in which the small hawk (wâkiri, or, smaller still, the derâj) is used, and that of the great falcon, the *horr*. It is conducted on a scale of something like princely magnificence worthy of the old feudal times.

I remained another whole day at Tibneen, glad of the opportunity of seeing the personages and usages of the people at such a time, when all information that was authentic was useful.

The climate of this altitude was cooler than upon the sea coast. The morning was misty, and it was a late hour before Hermon (Jebel esh Shaikh) revealed himself in full dignity.

The view all around was most magnificent, extending northwards deep into the Beka'a (Plain of Cœlo Syria), between the parallel lines of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, with the castle of Shukeef apparently at its entrance. Hermon lay to the east, with green woods intervening.

For a lover of sylvan sports, how much preferable must be the position of governor of such a territory, than to be 'Prince of the Lebanon' in Beteddeen, as that restless political tyrant, the Ameer Besheer, had been not long before.

Perhaps, however, he would not have thought so, having his own special tastes to indulge.

During the Egyptian occupation (it is not easy to invent a more appropriate term to denote their possession of Syria while it lasted—till 1840), Hhamad el Bek, our present host, always held out against them, and fought for the Sultan, in alliance with the Druze Jonblâts, his not distant neighbours in the Lebanon, in opposition to the Ameer Besheer just referred to.

Hhamad el Bek fought a battle with his own cavalry on his own ground, and afterwards assisted at Acre, in our great affair there in 1840. Hence he was rewarded by the Turkish Government with the rank of Kai-makâm, which entitled him to the before-mentioned blue uniform with gold epaulettes, and to have a kawwâs officially in his service—dressed in Constantinople fashion.

This chieftain had no direct heirs living.

The Shaikhs still remained, or rather, as some went away, others arrived in their place, to pay their respects on account of the festival. During the forenoon the Bek gave his audiences, and transacted Secretary-business in the Divân; but the tediousness of ceremony was never relaxed, either among the guests with each other, or between them and the host. Totally unlike visiting among equals in country mansions in England, this was more the assembling of inferior chiefs to do a kind of homage to their feudal head.

The highest reverence of all was paid by every person to the old gentleman before alluded to as being seated next to me on my arrival, and to whom the Bek presented me as Nas'r Allah Khân, uncle of the Shah of Persia; who, on the accession of the reigning Shah, Nas'r ed Deen, had found it desirable to leave his country, since which time he had taken up his abode as an exile among these his co-religionists, the Metâwilah Shiahs.

This incident illustrates the way in which far distant Eastern lands keep up knowledge of each other, and intercourse, as in past ages, to an extent which we Europeans are slow to realize and to take into account.

This gentleman alone was accustomed to sit in the

place of honour in the balcony with the Bek and the Consul, while other guests occupied the other parts of the saloon.

The Persian Prince appeared to be a man of no great mental calibre; but his manners were those of a person habitually associating with those in high command. He took no airs upon himself, but his position was indisputable, and it was kept with easy simplicity.

I never afterwards learned whether the Turks were aware of this personage being in the country, but I doubt that any Europeans were aware of it.

His Royal Highness the Khan wore a large turban of scarlet, striped with brown and white, which drooped low, almost over one eye; it was evidently an article of high value. His beard was stained with henna (as the Shiahs have a tradition that Mohammed had that custom). He spoke little Arabic, but Turkish fluently, considerably mixed with Persian terms, and even with Persian grammatical forms. This would render his dialect more acceptable among high-caste Turks at the capital.

It was amusing to see how the old gentleman drew himself up, and how his eyes gleamed whenever any allusion was made to the Shahin-Shah. 'Yes,' he said, 'the King of Irân is a king of kings.'

One of the company provided amusement by reading aloud an Arabic poem by a living bard, in praise of Aga somebody's horse. Oriental gravity gave way, and the saloon rang with fits of laughter as the similes went on: at one time the horse was like a thimble, then like a cocoa-nut, etc.

The Bek left off his letter-writing to put in dry

remarks, which only enhanced the fun; but the Khan began to doze over what he was not able to understand.

He, however, woke up when some impudent-looking Durweeshes from Lucknow came in, and were solemnly saluted by the Bek. They squatted down in a good place (as these holy men always do), and the leader spoke some Arabic; they were all, however, more at ease in Persian with the Khan. These Indian Moslems, too, were strangers from a far-off land.

Strange for me to find British subjects within my jurisdiction in such an out-of-the-way place.

During the general conversation, one of my company mentioned the name of God, as indeed can scarcely be avoided in Arabic speaking, on which one of the native Shaikhs (wearing a green cloak—the sacred colour) called out, 'Who is that talking about God? I want to know what you say about the Messiah. Is he God, or is he not?'

My friend, apprehensive of some outburst of fanaticism among the Metâwilah, did not like this, but had the courage to reply, 'You say that he is the Spirit of God, and we say that he is the Son of God,' and refused to say any more. Fortunately we were not liable to the violence that threatened Henry Martyn among the Shirazi Shiahs when this same subject was mooted.

The Bek broke off the topic by retiring, for the afternoon nap, to the next room, whereupon all had to rise in silence till he was gone.

Then several of the Shaikhs stretched themselves on the floor, some in the Lewân (alcove), and I in the balcony

where I was—all for the same object of siesta during the heat of the day.

Before the rest had aroused themselves, a friend and I walked round the exterior of the castle, and remarked a good deal of crusaders' masonry, with some rabbeted stones of Jewish era worked in among the same; near the pool of water, beside the village of castle-dependants, lay an ancient sarcophagus, with no sculpture whatever upon it, and the cover of it gone.

Towards evening there was jereed-playing on the Maidân (the casting the javelin by men on horseback) on the open 'place' or exercise-ground. The two best performers were slaves of the Bek, strong men and fearless riders. The walls and parapets of the castle were lined with spectators.

The broken courts within the castle were full of horses of the visitors, in open air of course, and it was amusing to see so many tails switching from side to side in straight lines in the bright sunshine, to whisk away the flies. The horses were of tolerably good quality, but the stud of the Bek himself was, as might be expected, superior in breed and show.

Hhamad el Bek (the chief) told me of a village at an hour's distance, called *Serim*, where the rocks are perforated with labyrinths much more than those of Sanoor, near Nabloos. No doubt that a month might be well spent at Tibneen, as there are many interesting places to visit in daily rides—such as Shukeef, Kaddis, etc., besides game to hunt in the green woods; for me there would be the study of the people—their history, and their relation to others.

Having to start early in the morning, I took leave overnight of the Bek, and of the Persian Prince, exchanging *khoda hafiz* with the latter. Compliments are endless with these people. We also parted from our friends of Tyre and Sidon, who had been with us so far.

Our journey forwards was through a considerable forest on our way to Nazareth. The Christians in the district of Belad Beshârah, which we now quitted, and where they have no advocate between them and the local rulers, amount to about 1,500 men; they told me that under Hhamad el Bek they were of good heart, but that his rival, Tamar Bek, the ruler at *Bint el Jabail*, was their bitter persecutor.

Our next resting-place was Nazareth, and here one day was sufficient, affairs as they then were being already known to me.

The Moslems and the Roman Catholics carried themselves less haughtily than before in regard to the native Protestants. The latter include not only Nazarenes, but also inhabitants of several villages around, and are a fine robust set of men. Among a deputation of them who came to visit me as the Consul of their missionary pastor, and his house and school, was one man of the village of Tura'ân, who told me of a Greek curate of the village of Mujaidal (where he served a flourishing church), having joined the Protestants, and reading prayers in our Liturgy (the Arabic translation).

The Governor of Nazareth, Moollah 'Ali, had been displaced for his conduct during the riot at the Protestant school-house in 1852, in which his own son took an active part; but he had since expressed so much contrition

that the Protestants had requested to have him reinstalled. All was now quiet in Nazareth.

We moved on across the plain of Esdraelon to Jeneen, at the entrance of the mountain country of Samaria.

Here the governor was 'Abdu 'l Hâdi, senior of the famous family of that name, then governing the province of Nabloos. This is, as already stated, one of the most powerful of the native families in the province, and, according to Turkish policy, it was at times recognized by the Ottoman Government, by whom various offices were bestowed on the principal members of the family; at other times they were in disgrace, and obliged to yield to rival chiefs of other families who might happen to be in the ascendant.

The Turks have ruled from time immemorial by thus playing off rival families and factions against each other. They rarely destroy any one party entirely, but elevate and subdue by turns, employing each to weaken the others, keeping by this means all in check, not only at no cost, but making a positive gain, by means of the money which all are alike willing to pay for favour and for place.

'Abdu 'l Hâdi, as usual, courting our notice, came and gossipped about the improvements he was making there, and exhibited his mills, canals, gardens, etc.

Pursuing our route we reached Nabloos in eleven hours from Nazareth, including three-quarters of an hour's halt at Jeneen.

Nabloos has long been notorious for the fanaticism and lawlessness of its Moslem inhabitants. Some of these people

in the evening insulted our kawwâses for being in the employ of Christians, they being our official guards, and always necessarily Mohammedans.

They were punished, after a court had been held in the open air, where the governor of the town and the kâdi (judge) gave judgment in the moonlight at our door. The sentence of bastinado was carried out on the spot, while a numerous rabble filled the street, or looked on from roofs of houses.

This incident served to show what was the disposition of the people in this town, even now at the beginning of the war, and to what lengths they might go against the few unprotected native Christians in the place, if not checked in time. The lesson thus given was not lost upon the Nabloos Moslems, who remained quiet, as far as their Christian fellow-subjects were concerned, till the end of the Crimean war.

It is of the first importance to stop the very earliest symptoms of disorder in a population of turbulent Orientals, especially when there is little but moral force at command, as was the case in Palestine in 1853.

Stern and instant repression was the means successfully employed for the preservation of order in these critical times, when a very small outbreak of popular disorder must have speedily raised a ferment in which many thousands of defenceless Christians would have been in peril of their lives, if indeed there were left the possibility of saving life at all, when once mischief had been allowed to begin.[1]

[1] This sketch of the condition of things in Palestine in 1853, slight though it is, may perhaps convey to readers experienced in Oriental ways some

The whole district was in a very uneasy condition.

Next day (July 14th) we set forwards towards Jerusalem, a distance of twelve hours. Arriving alongside the village of Howâra, a party of Moslems begged leave to travel in our company. In explanation of their desire, they pointed to a low breastwork wall adjoining the village, in front of which, during a conflict two days before, between this village and those of Cuza and Bata, seventeen people had been killed (five of them women).

The last-named village is scarcely three gun-shots distant from Howâra, and yet there was war between them, though all were Moslems alike, and there was no government authority to interpose and stop the bloodshed.

The loss of the women is accounted for by their having been present to bring up ammunition to their male relations in the fight. They also take part in the fray, by exciting the men to valour by their war-cries, and screams of reproach when deserved, stigmatizing the warriors, if necessary, as '*kedeesh*,' and not '*aseel*,'[1] as men ought to be.

Sometimes, as we were told, the women will even stand in front for the brave champions to rest their guns upon the woman's shoulder while taking aim, and dare the enemy to fire at a woman, which no Arab will do if he can help it, on account of the disgrace which such an act would bring upon him.

Palestine was in an unsettled state from north to

slight idea of the constant vigilance exercised by Mr. Finn, and of the powerful influence which his well-known character for energy enabled him to exert in preserving order in the land, although at so great a distance from aid by material force of any kind.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

[1] The *Kedeesh* is a pack-horse for the road—a sorry beast at best. The *Aseeli* is the high blood horse of the desert breeding.

south, from east to west. The war fever had infected every petty tribe and clan, and the preoccupation of the Turks, with their far greater business of war, gave our people just the opportunity they desired for fighting out all their quarrels.

As usual in troublous times, the wild Bedaween were closing in and hovering around like vultures over their prey. These wild tribes were in some instances called in by the peasantry as allies—some tribes on this side, others on that.

CHAPTER XI.

PANICS AND FIGHTS.

Panic among the Christians—Pashà of Jerusalem old and helpless—Fights close to our camp—The attack at sunrise—Nightly preparations for fight—Efforts to set Government in motion—Battles—Shaikh Hhamdân—Successful intervention—A Truce effected—A Comet.

IMMEDIATELY on my arrival at Jerusalem, in the very same hour, I had to receive accounts of the neighbouring villages recommencing hostilities against each other.

Meanwhile the Christians in the city were overcome with panic dread of impending Moslem insurrections, massacres, and plunderings.

The Greek Convent had some time before given currency to a rumour that there had been a rising in Damascus.

The shops in the bazaars were closed, families had shut themselves up within their dwellings, and thence frantically endeavoured to keep up each other's courage by firing guns and pistols from the roofs of their houses. Some were ill in bed with fright.

This had been going on for some days and nights; and the preceding day being Friday (the Moslem Sabbath) the Christians had made up their minds that the massacre was to take place after the noon-day Moslem prayers in the Noble Sanctuary (Hharam esh Shereef, or Temple Enclosure) should be over, and when the city was full of

armed peasants, who had come from the surrounding country to attend the Moslem prayers.

Nothing of the kind had, however, occurred; but such had been the terror, the extremity of fear of the unhappy native Christians, that mothers had kept their sturdy young sons at home from work, hiding them in the hareems, while they themselves went trembling to inquire of their European friends 'whether *all* Christians were going to be killed on account of Russia being at war with Turkey, or whether only the Greeks (as of the same religion with Russia) would be murdered, while the Latins and others would be spared.' The Jews also took the alarm, and came inquiring what they were to do when the moment for slaughter arrived.

In a similar panic which had occurred during my absence the week before, matters had become so serious that it was necessary summarily to check the growing fermentation.

A Jew came running breathless to my country place, where my family were encamped, as usual, in tents near Jerusalem for the summer, to ask whether he might not remove 'a little box' of property which he had packed up, into the walled enclosure where stood the British Consulate and the Church.

This was of necessity peremptorily refused; for the bringing of this one 'little box' would have caused the report to spread, like wildfire, that the Consulate considered the moment of danger to have arrived, and the crowding of frightened people with their goods, to what they considered a haven of refuge, would have given only too tempting an opportunity for plunder to the

peasantry, who on this day, as on other Fridays, crowded the bazaars and streets.

What could the feeble Turkish Government have done to stop the scenes of riot which must have ensued, and which might at any instant be turned into scenes of massacre and blood? The only safe course was to prevent the beginning of any such scramble, and notice was therefore at once sent to my Cancellière in charge of the current affairs of the Consulate, who had proclamation made in all the synagogues, etc., that any English protected person, known to propagate alarm by announcing an insurrection of the Mohammedans, should be imprisoned for three days.

The other Consulates followed the example. The terrified native Christians, being Turkish subjects, were left to be dealt with by the Convent authorities, and by the impotent local rulers.

Thus the panic was calmed, for that week at least, by the application of the Oriental maxim, that 'nothing will conquer fear but a bigger fear;' and the fear of certain and instant imprisonment served to neutralise the dread about what was still future, and might allow of possible escape. For a few days people talked less publicly about cutting throats and maltreating the helpless.

Next morning (Sunday) I made a circuit to the Greek Metropolitan Bishop (the Patriarch being absent), to the President of the Latin Convent, to the Chief Rabbi, and to Rabbi Yeshaiah of the Polish Jews, and sent my Cancellière to other leading personages of various descriptions, exhorting them to allay the fears of the people

respectively under their authority and rule; for it was certain that the excitement and foolish proceedings of the frightened people were affording the most direct encouragement to those who, being mischievously disposed, might not otherwise have ventured on evil designs.

We were informed of people having actually tendered bribes to some of the Moslem inhabitants of Jerusalem, to engage them to spare their houses when the time should arrive for violence. The Greek Metropolitan Bishop and the President of the Latin Convent did what they could to calm the fears of their people, by preaching sermons to reassure them.

The Turkish Government was literally in a state of exhaustion at the time. The poor old Pashà was so feeble that, on hearing of a scuffle between two Moslems in the Sanctuary, he had been taken so ill that fears were entertained for his life. He had rallied after some days, but was still all but absolutely incapable.

The mere presence on the coast of an English or French ship of war would have proved of excellent service. The paramount consideration was to keep the city and the country quiet by any possible means; for if an accidental spark had kindled the smouldering fires into a blaze, no help could be expected from Constantinople in putting out the conflagration. Deplorable loss of life and property must result if disorders were allowed to increase upon us.

Tumult or bloodshed in Palestine at this juncture must have complicated matters between the European Powers, each of whom would of course treat this circumstance as might best suit their own individual interests.

The Turkish Government being helpless and powerless, it only remained for each one of us to do his best, and especially for me, who had the anxious charge of hundreds of men, women, and children in Jerusalem, and in the other towns.

If the lives of the people entitled to British protection were to be preserved, any and every bit of moral influence available must be exerted to keep the country quiet.

Our energies and resources were speedily put to the proof.

There was some excuse for the poor Oriental Christians and Jews, some of whom were old enough to remember the horrors enacted during the Greek War of Independence, and at other not very remote periods. But it was difficult to have patience with Europeans, who ought at least to have preserved their self-possession so far as to remember, that the surest way of provoking danger was to show signs of cowardice. On the whole, however, the European community behaved well.

Most of the English residents were, as usual, spending the summer out in tents among the olive-trees in various places near Jerusalem, and this without any extra precaution as to guards or defence of any kind. We were all well known to the surrounding peasant tribes, and were on friendly terms with them. They were glad to supply us with provisions, water, &c., and to cultivate intercourse with us, for the sake of many little benefits—such as medical aid and arbitration in their petty disputes, whereby justice was obtained more pleasantly and cheaply than by recourse to the Turkish authorities, who would have to be bribed all round, whether their decision were adverse or favourable.

My family and I were in camp at our country place, called the Tâlibiyeh (which overlooks Jerusalem from the western hill), exactly one mile from the City (Jaffa) gate.

The Ain Carem truce between Abu Gosh and Othmân el Lahhâm had expired during my absence, and the Pashà (governor) of Jerusalem had persuaded both parties to prolong it for fifteen days more, and had summoned the two rival chiefs to appear before him.

Abu Gosh, wily as his name imports, (it signifies 'Father of Deceit,') had obeyed, and had come in to Jerusalem, where he made friends for his cause by bribing the Effendis all round. Othmân el Lahhâm feared treachery, and had refused to come.

The fifteen days' truce expired at sunset the very day after my return, and the 'war' was commenced by one side seizing some water-carrying donkeys belonging to the other side.

Next morning, just before sunrise, bullets were heard whistling round our tents, and on looking out it was evident we were in the midst of a battle of the above factions, the Abu-Goshites from the villages on the north-west, and the Othmân Lahhâmites, or Arkoob people, on the south-west. Our place was just on the borders, between the two.

The Arkoob people from Bait Safâfa, a village in sight on the crest of a hill below, were retiring in steady order. Some of them had entered within my boundary-wall, using it for a breastwork. 'Sabbahh-kum b'il khair' (good morning to you), said I; 'what is all this?' 'A hundred good mornings, O Bek! we are waiting for the Lifta

people (of the opposite or Abu Gosh faction); there is a row! hurrah!' replied they, hallooing war-cries.

I invited them to move off my ground, and fight elsewhere. They did so at once, and took possession of a hill and a stone-quarry just outside my wall.

We went out to reconnoitre, and heard the shouts of the Lifta advancing column, which soon came in sight, about 300 strong. It was a fine sight to see these Beni Mâlik (Abu Gosh) men sweeping up in a wide crescent —never halting a moment, but driving the others before them with their dropping fire. There were at least 500 men engaged on the two sides, but firing at long distances; the main part of that day's work, however, was already over.

The Lifta men have an established reputation for musket practice to sustain. The others (nearest to us) picked up their wounded as they slowly retreated, and suddenly a detachment of the Beni Mâlik, headed by a horseman with a sword (all the others were on foot), made a rush forward and seized the position in the stone quarry above, amid great demonstrations. This vantage gained seemed to turn the fortunes of the day.

At my side (my wife was there also), crouching by the rocks on which we stood and which had so lately been the post held by our (Beni Arkoob) side, there was an old Lifta acquaintance. We observed his hands to be stained with blood, but this turned out to be—not his own, but that of the wounded comrade whom he had borne off the field. We asked him, 'What was the good of all this?' he replied somewhat sadly, 'Do I know?'

My horses had been meanwhile saddled, and on the

Arkoobites being seen to halt and face about, the opportunity seeming to be a good one for mediation, I rode up between the belligerents with my Cancellière and my Kawwâs displaying a white flag. Behold! in an astonishing short time both parties melted away, hasting to their respective homes and daily rural work (threshing wheat, etc.), dropping shots as they retreated. Each side had two men wounded.

The sudden transition was truly Oriental, but by nine o'clock A.M. it was in truth rather too hot for fighting under a July sun.

On riding leisurely round by the traditional site of Simon the Cyrenian's house to the village of Bait Safâfa (also in Beni Arkoob territory), we were greeted by horrid screams of defiance from the women there, who probably did not understand our intention. This village was filled with the recent combatants of the losing side; and those strange heaps of stone, so often noticed by travellers, on the plain of Rephaim—at the foot of the village above named—were each occupied by a look-out man perched up on the top.

We were not the only Europeans near the scene of action—for, like ourselves, the English Bishop and a missionary clergyman with their families were also encamped for the summer. Their tents being close to the village of Lifta, head-quarters of one of the armies, I thought it advisable to ride round thither and enquire whether any alarm had been felt.

I found that one of the wounded men had been carried thither for medical treatment at the hands of the

missionary. The peasantry had on this, as on all previous occasions of their local wars, been careful to avoid molesting any of the English encamped out among them. Our friends had been in no way disturbed—only they had heard the 'El-el-el-loo' of the women and had been told that 'there had been a "Shamata" (row) in the Consul's camp!'

The Bishop considered that he had no cause for apprehension, and thankfully declined my offer of an extra kawwâs besides his own to stay with him the night for protection of his family in case of necessity.

What can speak more strongly for the goodwill in those days of the native peasantry for the English, than such an episode as the above? Here were little parties of unarmed and unprotected families—including ladies, children of all ages, and servants—living under canvas among the trees, on the Judean hills, too far from the city to reckon upon any assistance reaching them in time had there been danger by day, while by night, the city gates being all locked, there could be no possibility for even carrying tidings of any disturbance to the Turkish governor or troops till too late to be of the slightest use in saving life.

Yet here we all lived and carried on our domestic life, and read, and worked, and wrote, while children played around, and the horses were picketed under the trees. We walked out or rode, as it pleased us, aware indeed that the peasantry were at war with each other, and that the Government were powerless to stop them from fighting. The facts were brought home to us personally in no more disagreeable fashion than has been

described above, when our slumbers were cut short at daybreak on a lovely summer's morning by the shouts of the combatants and by the somewhat too close discharge of their guns, seeing that the bullets whistled and sang in flying past our tents. Sometimes the woman who brought us our milk could not come because her village was in the fight; sometimes we had no fresh supply of drinking water from a favourite spring, for fear the enemy should seize the peasant's donkeys which bore the water-skins.

These were our most serious inconveniences, and as has been related, we could on the other hand hope to do some good in doctoring the wounded and in separating the combatants at least for a time, by some short-lived truce granted 'in honour of the Consul' who begged for it, and whom none were willing to refuse.

But we proceed with the narrative. On visiting the Pashà and the Austrian Consul for deliberation as to how order could be restored, I learned that when the aged Pashà had heard of the morning's proceedings he was on his way to prayers in the Hharam (Noble Sanctuary, or the Temple Enclosure), but, overpowered by the intelligence, he had fainted away. Poor old man! his position was a pitiful one.

News of the fight had been brought to town by a Lifta peasant who had been sent to fetch two barbers to dress the wounds of the combatants! Effendis had then been sent out to fetch in the two chiefs, but with the usual result.

At night we heard more of the war screams at a distance in the villages, and also firing of guns, and we

sent in word to the Pashà: my people got the message into the city by speaking to the sentinel through the chinks of the city gate, which was as usual locked for the night. The voices of some people were also heard whispering outside my enclosure wall, but these were possibly peaceable peasants of the village of Dair Yaseen going home by a circuitous route over our high ground, rather than trust themselves into the valleys.

A company of Bashi-bozuk was sent out from the city as a patrol, whom after some repose from their fatigue of a mile's ride I sent on to the Bishop's camp, to see that all was well. It was somewhat romantic to have the officers in conversation in the silent night—with their men holding their horses—at the upper gate, with weapons glittering in the moonlight; but their usefulness as protectors in case there had been any danger to ourselves, we knew to be more than doubtful.

For two or three hours after daybreak next day the distant hills resounded with shouts and dropping shots; but this was only evidence that the combatants were withdrawing themselves to a distance further southwards for their operations.

These war cries are represented in Arabic by the word 'Sout' (literally 'voice,' and corresponding to our word *shout*) when used for alarm calls; but when a hostile party approaches a village or a body of people challenging them to fight, it is no longer called the '*sout*,' but the *waw*, and the noun is turned into a verb, thus:—

A-waw-tu, for we have arms and horsemen.

A-waw-tu, for we will kill your men.

A-waw-tu, for your women shall be widows.

A-waw-tu, for your children shall be orphans, etc., etc.

Next morning we could hear the people mustering in the villages (sounds travel miles in the clear mountain air), but not a shot was fired: the rogues were drawing off to a distance, west and south, to fight it out there. A large body of the Arkoobites passed us in the direction of the south.

Notice of all this was accordingly given to the Jerusalem authorities. There was no great amount of bloodshed: the peasantry don't much like killing each other, because of the heavy blood-fines, which have to be paid afterwards.

During all these proceedings, as afore said, we felt no alarm for ourselves: the ladies and children lived as usual in the summer encampments, and the men repaired to their avocations in the city, feeling that they left them in security. The country people had no quarrel with us, but were, on the contrary, making gains from our out-door life, by supplying us with their produce, and on the other hand the Turkish officials were glad to be able to report, in proof of the tranquillity of the country, that we were living so safely—making in fact truth serve the purpose of falsehood.

The French Consul urged upon the Pashà the necessity of bringing the Arkoob leader, Othmân el Lahhâm, into the city, and we all agreed that another effort should be made for that object by sending to him an influential Effendi (one of the native Arab *noblesse*), Abdallah Wafa, with an invitation from his Excellency the Pashà, and that if this should fail, the Pashà should

send him a formal 'safe-conduct,' technically termed the 'Amân wa Rai.'[1]

The French Consul, M. Botta, had official reasons connected with his position as representing the Protectors of Christianity in the East, for dealing with this imbroglio.

In the village of Ain Karem (St. John's in the Desert) is a Franciscan Convent, and many of the people of the village are Latin Christians dependent more or less on the Convent. This village lies on the borders of the territories of the belligerent chiefs Othmân el Lahhâm and Abu Gosh. The French Consul, probably considering Othmân likely to be the more effective Protector of his Christian clients, took a decided part in his favour.

Abu Gosh, chief of the opposing faction, and wily as usual, had made up his mind that the English Consul would surely espouse the opposite side of any cause taken up by the French—more especially as the French were Latins and the English were Protestants. But he had reckoned without his host. It was not the custom of the English Consul to favour any faction whatever, and moreover, he and M. Botta were living on excellent terms of personal friendship.

To send Othmân a safe-conduct seemed the only thing possible to be done in the helpless state of the Turkish Government, and it was of immense importance to prevent this little war from spreading and assuming more serious proportions, as it seemed likely to do, and that speedily.

In order to balance the south-western Bedawy allies of Othmân el Lahhâm, Abu Gosh had already called in,

[1] So named from the opening words of the formula,' In the *safety* of God and *superintendence* of the Prophet.'

as his allies, the wild Adwân Arabs from beyond Jordan, and others.

An influential relative of Abu Gosh came to visit me and to represent the urgent need that some one should mediate between the belligerent factions, seeing how utterly powerless the Government was, and how impossible it would become to quell the disturbances should this become a general war among the Fellahah clans.

His Excellency did that evening send the 'Safe-Conduct' (Amân wa Rai) to Othmân, who took time to consider about it! Why should he obey the commands or even entreaties of his Turkish lords! Was he not a loyal subject of his Majesty the Padishah, and only fighting against his natural enemy, Abu Gosh?

Abu Gosh, for his part, made equally loyal protestations of loyalty, and laid all the fault of the disturbances upon 'that rebellious Shaitân—Othmân el Lahhâm.'

On hearing that the 'Safe-Conduct' had been sent to Othmân el Lahhâm, 'Abderrahhmân Abu Gosh, of the opposite side, came into Jerusalem and visited me in my office, making professions of ancient friendship, and saying that if Othmân, his rival, appeared before the Mejlis (City Council), in obedience to the Pashà's invitation, he would have to do so too.

For the Chief of a clan to appear before the Governor and Effendis in Council, for decision of a cause of such magnitude as this was, involves a very large distribution of bakhsheesh among the native Effendis, as well as to the Pashà and his Turkish officials; and it was well known that Abu Gosh had already, by means of his purses of money, secured many supporters. Naturally he

was unwilling to repeat the process after so short an interval.

My visitor (accompanied, of course, by a following of his people, called by the natives, as in the Highlands of Scotland, his 'tail') declared he was anxious for peace and begged that, if I should see any of his people of the Beni Mâlik out again in arms, I should ride up to them, and order them home, saying, 'Return, my children, to your place,' and they would at once obey me; indeed, added he, so desirous was he for peace, that when the Bedaween—the Adwân from beyond Jordan— and the Ehteimât from Jericho, lately came to offer assistance —he had refused them! He hoped finally 'that I was not going to change an old friend for Othmân el Lahhâm, etc.'

I could best lecture him on the enormity of fighting now, when instead of killing each other, and ruining the country, all faithful subjects of the Sultan ought to be helping their master in his difficulties with the Russians, if in no other way, at least by keeping the peace within his dominions.

It may not be amiss to remark here upon the curious fact that these Native Chiefs were always pretty correctly informed of the general course of European affairs. We had often occasion to observe this, and had, moreover, many indications that the Clan Feuds were fomented by intriguers from without, who desired that the Turkish provinces should be in a state of anarchy, if not of downright insurrection. To restore quiet by the mere exercise of friendly offices was no easy task, and yet it was imperatively necessary that this should be done.

Next day early more war cries were heard upon the hills and a crowd of men and women were seen rushing from Lifta, on our right, N.W. towards Ain Karem (on the West).

Fortunately the Chief of the Ta'amirah Arabs, Shaikh Hhamdân (a tribe occupying the district North-West of the Dead Sea, up to near Bethlehem), attended by two or three of his swarthy followers, had come to visit me at my tents soon after sunrise. He, too, had come to represent the urgent necessity for interference before the whole South and West country should be ablaze, and advised arrangements to be tried for an interview with Othmân el Lahhâm.

He and his tribe being, in fact, of the Wild Bedawy class, were accurately informed as to the movements of the great tribes of the Wild Bedaween, such as the Tiyâhah, who can muster several thousand fighting men. He dwelt upon the certainty that, unless a truce were brought about, these Bedawy allies—who had been already called in on both sides by the peasantry—would overrun and destroy the country.

None but those who have seen it can appreciate the devastation wrought in a few hours by these wild hordes. Like locusts they spread over the land, and their camels, only too glad to revel upon the luxury of green food, strip every leaf off the vines, and devour, while they trample down, all corn or vegetable crops, leaving bare brown desolation where years of toil had made smiling fields and vineyards. Nor is this all, for the cattle and flocks are swept off to the desert by the marauders—who leave behind, for the unfortunate peasant, nothing that they can carry away.

Bedaween are, however, very shy of invading mountainous country, which is not favourable fighting or even travelling ground for their dromedaries and desert horses. Neither do they like to trust themselves in narrow roads among the fences of cultivated land; of their own accord they would not have entered the Jerusalem district even at this time when there was known to be little or no Government force to repel them, excepting in small parties for theft. But once called in as allies by the village clans, they could not have been got rid of but with immense difficulty, and after the land had been laid waste by them.

It must be remembered that alliances between the settled peasant populations and the wild Desert Arabs are very ancient, dating back long before the Turkish conquest of Palestine.

Shaikh Hhamdân, our visitor, was chief of the Ta'amirah tribe, who roam over the district South-east of Bethlehem, as far as the Dead Sea. This tract is considered Ta'amirah territory, both by the Government authorities and by the other inhabitants. The tribe are several hundred strong and have relations with the settled agricultural population on the one hand, and with the wild desert tribes of pure Bedawy Arabs on the other. They live in tents, roaming from place to place after Bedawy fashion. And they have alliances with the Bedawy tribes; but they are unlike them in one very important point, for they cultivate the land, sowing and reaping, and are in this respect like the peasantry.

The pure Bedaween, however, despise the Ta'amirah for this: 'Who but an ass would labour in the fields?'

—and the Fêllahheen (regular peasantry) are contemptuously called by the wild Bedaween, 'asses of the world,' just because they are cultivators of the soil.

English travellers to the Jordan and Dead Sea commonly passed through the Ta'amirah district either in going or returning, and the chief of their tribe usually took his turn with the chiefs of four other small tribes through whose districts the travellers had to pass, in furnishing an escort of men for the safe conduct of the party.

From their point of view, travellers, by the mere fact of entering their district as visitors, became the guests of the tribe to whom it belonged, and were entitled to hospitality and protection at the hands of all their people, provided only that they claimed this protection, and were willing to give in return a small present to the chief of the tribe.

The British Consul had, with the sanction of the Turkish governor, arranged with the five chiefs to fix a tariff of something less than a pound English money as the present to be given by each traveller visiting the Jordan and Dead Sea. To avoid disputes, the five chiefs undertook the duty of escort in regular rotation.

According to Arab usage they then became responsible for the lives and property of their guests, whom they were bound to protect against all comers. All other tribes were, of course, aware that any party escorted by even a single man of these tribes was for the time being their guest, and under the protection, not only of the tribe itself, but of all those in alliance with it.

By this simple arrangement hundreds of British travellers were enabled to visit in comfort and safety these

otherwise dangerous regions, even at times when no Turkish soldier or Government official dared to venture thither.

Shaikh Hhamdân was a fine-looking man, above middle age. He was greatly respected by his people, whom he ruled with a firm hand. He valued the good opinion of British authorities, with whom he always kept perfect faith, and he was feared and respected by the smaller wild tribes as well as by the peasantry of the south country of Palestine.

The warnings given by one so well informed were not to be neglected or passed lightly by.

I at once sent my head kawwâs riding after the people who were going forth to battle, with orders to turn them back, as their chief, Abu Gosh (for they were of his faction), had only the day before requested me to do in case of need.

We stood upon the high ground watching events. One of us happening to say that probably there would be no harm that day, because we had seen that the women were out with the men—'Are the women out?' said Shaikh Hhamdân; 'then depend upon it that means fighting.'

On this, and seeing that the combatants were on their way to the scene of action, I asked him to go and do what he could. In a minute he had mounted his roan mare, one of his men holding a stirrup on each side for their chief, and away he went with his followers directing his course to the village of El Khuddr (St. George's, near Solomon's Pools), to warn Othmân el Lahhâm to keep his people quiet, and to dissuade him from

putting himself in the wrong by striking another blow at the present moment.

The great thing was to induce Othmân to obey the Pashà's summons, and come to Jerusalem for a parley.

My kawwâs returned with the tidings that the Abu Gosh people from Lifta, whom we had seen on the march, were said to be only escorting their friends (the Saeedah) in their removal to another village, Jurah. That seemed a very doubtful explanation.

In striking contrast to the manly bearing and handsome equipment of Shaikh Hhamdân and his people was the next visitor who appeared at my camp, within a short time after Hhamdân had ridden off on his pacific mission.

Hhamdân was admirably mounted on a powerful mare. He wore a robe of scarlet cloth; on his head was a good silken kefiyeh (shawl of yellow-brown and red stripes). He was well armed, as were also his swarthy and clean-limbed attendants, who also wore the aba and kefiyeh, with sandals on their feet, kept on by a thong over the great toe.

My next visitor was the Turkish military commander of Jerusalem, come to pay a visit of ceremony, and perhaps to try and see something of the fighting from the safe shelter of my encampment. His Excellency rode a small donkey, and was attended by one or two miserable soldiers in dirty uniforms and on foot. This dignitary had lately found himself so little known and reverenced in the city that he employed a little European tailor of the place to make him a uniform with gold epaulettes, in order, as he explained, 'that people in the street might be enabled to know him, and

to rise up and salute him when he passed through the streets!'

I went over early in the day to the English farm in the Valley of Urtas, beyond Bethlehem, about seven miles from Jerusalem, where the usual peaceful employments were pursued by the family residing there, who had been in no way molested by the peasantry fighting around them.

Othmân el Lahhâm also came there and represented to me the impossibility of his again trusting to any Turkish promises or safe-conduct, after his own experience in former instances. Among the Arabs a 'betrayer of trust,' or one who ill-treats a guest, is infamous; but the Turkish Pashàs were notorious for their treachery, in seizing their victims even at the very supper-table where they had been by invitation partaking of hospitalities designed to lure them on to their fate. The Arabs have had too many cases of treachery on the part of Turkish rulers to trust themselves in troublous times to their most solemn oaths.

I, however, at last succeeded in inducing the Shaikh to consent to suspend hostilities and to obey the summons of his Government, on condition that I should myself see to it that the 'Amân wa Rai' (safe-conduct of the Pashà) was faithfully carried out.

Early next day I repaired to Jerusalem and informed the Pashà of the fact that Shaikh Othmân el Lahhâm had given me his word to obey the summons of His Excellency if a safe-conduct were granted, and also of my own assurance that it should be honourably respected if it was granted.

The Pashà was quite ready to issue this document, but now the Effendis of the Council—all well bribed by the rival chief Abu Gosh during his recent visit to town —were assembled in an adjoining room. They stamped and swore that no safe-conduct should be granted to Shaikh Othmân el Lahhâm. They cared not how much more bloodshed there might be in the country, nor how much embarrassment might arise to the Turkish Government, provided only opportunity were left to them to enrich themselves by levying 'presents' from both the contending factions.

The poor old Pashà was so feeble that on a recent occasion, when two men (both Moslems) had a scuffle in the mosque, he was overcome by fear and illness. The attendants had to carry His Excellency out of the mosque, and it was supposed he would have died. Now, however, he roused himself, and, in spite of all opposition, ordered the safe-conduct to be drawn out and sent off, while he also thanked me for the help given, and offered to keep me informed as to the progress of events.

Shaikh Othmân was not much to blame for his distrust of Turkish safe-conducts, for he had once been lured into the city by a former Pashà by a similar document, then caught, ironed, and carried into exile, but he had managed to escape when they had got him as far as Cyprus.

The safe-conduct was written, sealed, and sent off before sunset.

The next day was Sunday. At daybreak Shaikh Othmân and his train of followers made their appear-

ance at my camp. My Cancellière accompanied him into town, riding by his side past the sentinels on duty at the gate; and it was believed that, but for this precaution, and had he been alone, Shaikh Othmân would have been seized and put in irons then and there in spite of the safe-conduct, through the intrigues of hostile Effendis.

The conclusion of the affair was characteristic. On the fourth day afterwards the two rival shaikhs came to visit me, and to announce that the Pashà had made a truce of three months between them. Damages in the villages were to be repaired, and the inhabitants of those villages which were divided between the factions were to be allowed to remove if they chose and live where they would. The Pashà himself told me that this arrangement was made chiefly with a view of getting a quiet season for the annual collection of the taxes, the one object, as it seemed, of His Excellency's responsibility and duty towards his superiors at Constantinople.

This was a very usual conclusion to warfare of the kind when settled by the Turkish rulers, whenever the taxes were in danger, and showed the exceeding feebleness of the Government.

It was said that Othmân el Lahhâm had been regarded as the chief offender, because his rival, Abu Gosh, had made a merit of coming first into town and submitting himself to the council of Effendis. But these were his partisans, and it was well known that he had come with his pockets well filled with bribes for them, besides which he had some time before chased away the Government irregular horse from one of the villages (Ain

Karem); and yet he pretended that his rival had been the first aggressor.

However, the chief point was attained: fighting was stopped, and this through our success in getting Othmân el Lahhâm to trust himself to the safe-conduct. The Government had failed in doing this, though they had sent out first a body of the irregular horse, then a deputation of the Effendis of the council, and finally one of the chief Mohammedans of the city.

The Pashà, of course, as soon as he had got Othmân el Lahhâm safe within the walls of Jerusalem, entirely forgot his promise to let me know about the progress of affairs.

This was of no great moment in itself, but it was characteristic of Turkish doings in those days. So was the manner in which the three months' truce was finally brought about.

While the factions in the City Council were pulling the old Pashà this way and that, according as it suited their own private interests in the matter, a *posse* of poor peasant women, whose village had suffered much in the fray, came into the open court of the Great Sanctuary, just under the Pashà's windows. Here they cried for justice, or at least for peace to be enforced. Finding all their cries were unheeded, they raised a shout for blessings on the English Consul, who had at least stopped the fighting and bloodshed for the moment.

On hearing this, the Pashà hastily summoned the council, rated them soundly for their delays, and for the trouble they were bringing upon him when all this dis-

order should be reported in Constantinople.[1] He then called the rival Shaikhs before him, ordered them to kiss each other's heads on the spot, and to promise to keep the peace for three months.

The Turkish authorities ought to have been thankful for the aid afforded them, through the knowledge possessed by the British Consulate of these rural affairs, thanks to the honesty and correct information given by my correspondents; but it commonly happened that the ignorance of the Turkish Pashàs, and the falsity of the reports which reached them, were more agreeable to the old-fashioned orientalism of their administration, and they blundered on in the dark.

An amusing instance of the ignorance of our Pashà as to the course of events in Constantinople had occurred some months before. So early as the month of March (1853), when the air was full of the rumours of the coming war, our Pashà sent for my interpreter. On his arrival at the seraglio the door was shut, and earnest inquiries were made confidentially as to whether it was true that Constantinople had been already taken by the Russians! His Excellency was little better informed as to the course of affairs in his own Pashalic.

This being the case, I was happy in being able to do something for the preservation of the district from anarchy. The bringing of Othmân Lahhâm into the city had been attempted by the Pashà (whose Bashi-Bozuk had been chased away from Ain Karem by Abu Gosh, as he himself confessed to him), by a deputation of Effendis

[1] It was a matter of common notoriety that the leading Effendis were in the pay of foreigners whose schemes they supported.

of Jerusalem, by Abdallah Effendi alone, and by the Shaikh of Bait Jibreen, but could be effected by none of them.

Yet I was not precipitate in attempting the task: it was not till some days after bullets had been flying amongst my tents, and I had witnessed the progress of the battle, and seen at twenty yards' distance from my gate a man with both his hands stained with the blood of the wounded man whom he had carried off the field.

It was not till a peasant servant of my own had refused, from fear of his life, to carry a basket for me over hostile ground; not till the Ta'amri Shaikh and several townspeople of importance had assured us the crisis was most serious, and begged me to do something, that I undertook the office of inducing Othmân to obey the summons of the Pashà and trust to his safe-conduct. Then I left him in the hands of his lawful Government.

Thus peace was restored and for three months to come we might hope to live in quietness. Until next November, at any rate, the Abu Goshites and Othmân Lahhâmites must refrain from killing each other, and by that time rain would have fallen, and it was to be hoped they would be too busy ploughing their land to have time for fighting.

About a month after this a large comet showed itself above the horizon, though not at a great elevation; it was to be expected that this appearance would, as in other countries, augment the fear of impending disasters, being an object that usually

> '——— with dread of change
> Perplexes nations.'

However in ten days it retired, leaving the Turkish dominion to itself, in spite of all sinister forebodings; during its continuance with us the visitor had been large and bright.

CHAPTER XII.

JERUSALEM WITHOUT A GARRISON.

Incursions of Bedaween—Our garrison of troops ordered off to the War—French pilgrims—Comet and omens at departure of troops—Mohammedan view of politics and affairs—Fears of the Christians—Sir Hugh Rose—Why the European (Frank) Sovereigns help the Sultan.

Our quiet was not of long duration. The village people were stopped from fighting, but the wild Arabs near Jordan—Nimm'r and 'Abd'ul Azeez—both of the Adwân tribe, were at war, and had enlisted allies among the Arabs south and west of Jerusalem.

Knowing that the Turkish Government was weak just then, the Tiyâhah Bedaween chose to march through the Jerusalem district on their way to the scene of action during the night of September 1st. Some 350 of these wild fellows passed through Bethlehem; and others slept in the villages nearer still, eighty in Bait Jála, seventy in Bait Sahhur, others in Abu Gosh, while another strong body went down to the Ta'amri tribe (of Shaikh Hhamdân) near Bethlehem, on the south-east, to enlist them in the cause.[1] These wild Bedawy—or true desert Arabs—were not particularly desirable visitors; they belonged to a very large and powerful tribe, perhaps 10,000 in number.

[1] 1,600 men on 800 camels passed East of the Dead Sea, with 700 horsemen, headed by Shaikh Aboo Dahook of the Jahhaleen. Aboo Dahook being thrown from his mare, left the army and returned, fording the Jordan and going home on foot alone.

But there was nothing to be done, save hope that, as there was no quarrel between us and Bedaween, negotiation might prove a sufficient defence in case these rovers should take a fancy to any English chattels either on our encampment, or at the farm at Urtas.

This farm lay in the valley behind (south of) Bethlehem, about seven miles from Jerusalem.

Some hundreds of the Bedaween passed through the valley, riding their dromedaries; many of them rode double as ready for fight—one facing forward, the other backward—and they were armed with matchlocks of primitive form, or with spears. Happily they did no mischief, but passed on quietly. However we were kept on the alert.

The next incident was that a body of the Ta'amra—not belonging to the division of my friend Shaikh Hhamdân—invaded the valley of Urtas in search of water for their flocks and herds. The springs between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea, to which these wanderers usually resort, had failed early in the summer, and during my absence in the north in July a large body of them had come to Urtas with thousands of thirsty camels, sheep, and goats.

This was the more natural, since in former years the tribe had been in possession of the whole valley, and had only retired in consequence of agreements made by the British subject, John Meshullam, who had settled there in partnership with the ordinary peasant owners of the land.

The Ta'amra had consented some years before to withdraw from the lands under cultivation in consideration

of a sum of money being paid to them, and hitherto the agreement had been kept by them. But now, in this season of drought, they remembered the perennial stream of Urtas and migrated thither with their cattle.

Terrified at the idea of these swarms of camels and goats overrunning his green and luxuriant crops, Meshullam appealed to the Consulate for protection.

My Cancellière in charge (during my absence in the north) applied to the Pashà, who sent out a couple of Bashi-Bozuk to defend the farmer and his family and his crops. But when the thirsty troops came on and their wild Arab owners clamoured and brandished sticks, the soldiers hid behind rocks at first, and then fled away to Jerusalem.

On this Meshullam treated with the chiefs of the wild Arabs themselves, and invited them to a Parliament with the British Cancellière. About forty of the leaders attended the conference thus arranged, and an agreement was drawn up, according to which a wall breast-high was to be built at a certain point in the valley.

Meshullam engaged to turn the stream of water thither, that the Arabs might regularly water their cattle. They, on the other hand, promised to abstain from passing beyond this point, and to keep their cattle from trespassing upon the cultivated part at the other side of the boundary wall.

This agreement they kept, to their credit be it spoken, not allowing camel, or goat, or hungry child to trespass in the gardens, now full of vegetables and fruit, which were of course the greatest possible temptation to these desert people and their cattle.

Clearly the Turkish Government could neither have kept these Arabs back, nor could they have punished them in case of trespass. But the people had the idea that an agreement made with an Englishman must be kept, and in this idea, and their own sense of honour, was our strength. The country was overrun by wild Arabs of one kind or another, yet Europeans remained unmolested, excepting that one night the French post courier, coming up from Jaffa, was stopped and wounded near Ramlah. His box was opened, but no letters were taken.

It soon appeared that though the Ta'amra Arabs were willing to keep their bargain with us, they were not disposed to spare the fruits and vegetables belonging to the peasantry of the village, and one day a swarm of them fell upon the fruit-trees, which they soon stripped. I, however, succeeded in arranging another conference between both parties at Bethlehem, at which these wild fellows actually agreed to abstain from even the fruits belonging to the villagers, and they did so abstain during the rest of that season. The affray had been serious enough while it lasted, and heads had been broken, though no one had been killed on either side. This was fortunate, as the loss of one life might have involved the most serious consequences.

In the midst of these little occurrences came the news, on September 7, that in Constantinople the divan of the Porte had resolved on war against Russia, by a vote of fifty-six members out of sixty-one. Also, that our garrison of regular troops was ordered to leave Jerusalem and proceed to Constantinople for active service.

We were therefore to be left to our own resources;

all Palestine was to be evacuated of military forces; and that, too, after the recent proofs of anarchy among the rural clans, and with Bedawy Arabs overrunning the country.

One thing, however, was certain: we must put a bold face on the matter, rely upon Providence and our own energies, and try to keep the country quiet somehow.

The French and Prussian Consuls having now returned (the others were absent still), I went to talk over matters. Of course each viewed the prospect of affairs through different spectacles.

Other would-be politicians among us were decidedly of opinion that the Turkish Empire was at last extinguished, and that Palestine was to be handed over to Prussia for occupation and possession, that being a neutral Power, not deeply committed like the greater Powers to any line of action that could provoke collision among them, and having no direct interest beyond Turkey in the East, as England had.

These folk were, however, like the unfortunate native Christians, in no little fright as to what might happen in Jerusalem long before any great Power could think of helping us.

the great Moslem festival of Korban Bairâm was now at hand. Each family, if possible, kills a sheep for this feast. Crowds of desert Arabs came, during the two days preceding the festival, with sheep for sale. The Maidân, or public place N.W. of the Jaffa Gate (now covered with the great Russian buildings), was crowded with wild-looking strangers.

Everybody was excited, everybody talked of war. Yet all went off quietly.

The castle guns fired the usual salutes. The usual visits of ceremony were paid by us to the Turkish Pashà, and to the Bin-Bashi in command of the soldiers. This officer said that he was eager to get at the Russians, as he had done at Shumla twenty-five years before. During our visit we could see the soldiers packing up for departure.

The Moslems were circulating a rumour that the Shereef of Mecca was coming to defend the Holy City, Jerusalem, and its Hharam (Sanctuary), with 100,000 Arabs; they were to arrive along the Hhaj road by Ma'an. This announcement was clearly a *ruse* of the Pashà to keep up the confidence of the people.

By the 16th day of September His Excellency the Pashà was in much tribulation, from difficulty of getting horses, mules, etc., for transport of the military baggage to the coast. A troop of thirty Bashi-Bozuk had been scouring the villages for a week past, but all animals had been hidden in caves at a distance by their owners, in anticipation of the Government requisition, which they hoped thus to evade. Another party of horse had been out for two days on the same errand, and had returned with only five camels.

There was a party of French pilgrims in Jerusalem at this time. All were persons of respectable social position—very different from the low-class Greek and Armenian pilgrims who repair to the holy fire at Easter. These were forty in number, five of whom were eccle-

siastics; one of the latter was Abbé Bargis, Hebrew Professor at the Sorbonne.

They observed all due forms and ceremonies in their pilgrimage. On first coming in view of the Mount of Olives, which shows itself before the Holy City is seen, they dismounted for prayers, and did the same shortly after, on perceiving the town of Bethlehem, and again, once more, on obtaining the first view of the gray old walls of Jerusalem; *there* they remained an hour and a half.

On the Maidân they were welcomed by the Sisters of Charity, the Seminary students, and others.

They mostly wore the white burnoose, copied from the Arabs of Algeria (then, as now, a French possession), and each had a small gilt cross that was bestowed on him by the Bishop of Marseilles on their embarkation.

After visiting the sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, they were escorted over the country to other holy places, and were hospitably received in the several convents.[1]

The French pilgrims all wore their gold cross at their button-hole. The Roman Catholics here said that, though

[1] In after years similar convoys of devout visitors became frequent. The Austrians copied the French precedent, embarking their people at Trieste in the Austrian Lloyd's Messageries packets. The Convents became weary of such exhausting visitations, and complained that their funds, and even their lodgings, were not sufficient to provide the supplies needed. It is moreover probable that my information was correct that pilgrims of this class were more exacting than the Easter pilgrims; and although most of them made presents at parting, these were perhaps not always equal to the expenses incurred by the Convents for the pilgrims, their servants and their muleteers. The French, moreover, were apt to conduct themselves as 'Protectors of Christianity in the East.' These remarks I heard in the Monasteries—but not applied to this present party.

the conductor of the pilgrims was a worthy Maltese Roman Catholic, who had lived some years in Jerusalem, the idea of setting on foot these pilgrimages did not originate with him, but had 'another source.' They said there had been no such assemblage of French in Jerusalam since the Crusades, and were, in fact, greatly excited on the subject.

This party of French pilgrims was just starting for the Jordan and Dead Sea, when the Pashà applied to me to reason with their conductor, who being a Maltese, was a British subject.

On my doing so, the gentlemen consented to go on the rougher conveyance of camel, lending their hired animals to the soldiers, on condition of having them again when they should return to the city on the third day; for they all felt (what their Consul had impressed upon them) the necessity of facilitating military operations. So a contract to that effect was signed and sealed in the British Consulate between the Maltese purveyor and the Turkish authorities, and all parties were content.

The Turkish Bin-Bashi (Major) came to take leave before marching for the war, and at the same time a group of the Dehaidah Arabs, the escort of these French gentlemen for the Jordan expedition, were seated under the office window of the British Consulate, arrayed in new dresses and gay silken kefiyehs for the head.

It was pleasant to have been once more able to arrange matters comfortably for so great a variety of applicants—the Turkish Government and troops, the native owners of the beasts of burden, the French pilgrims and their wild Arab escort, and our own British subject the Maltese, who stood as link between them all and my

Consulate, he being the responsible head and organizer of the pilgrim party.

Thus much for the military movements consequent on the outbreak of war.

Next day the old fox, 'Abderrahhmân Abu Gosh, came to assure me that the country was quite ready for action, armed, and only waiting for the English to give them the signal on the approach of the Muscovites. (He had probably said the same thing already, or was on his way to say it, *mutatis mutandis*, at the French Consulate.) And he hinted that the *Jerood* (*levée en masse*) of the peasantry would have to be fed and paid. Then, when the enemy drew near, he would show me pretty play of his men in the Wadi Ali—that is, in the narrow pass between Ramlah and Jerusalem.

So I could do no less than promise to go out and witness the wondrous spectacle. I did not speak of the possibility that his Jerood might be scattered like chaff before the wind; but perhaps my promise itself was an over-rash one, because the circumstances might not then allow of my being in the country. (Before now the British Consul had been obliged to leave on the outbreak of war.) *Allah bilir!* for human sagacity was certainly at fault, and the Moslem was at least in the right with his creed of resignation (Islâm) to the providence of Heaven above—no, that is not the word; for a Moslem would never imagine any providence to exist in the impersonality of '*Heaven*;' his resignation would be to the will of a personal God in everything, but especially to what concerned the territory known as the Daru'l Islam (Mohammedan territory).

The Jew would of course partake in the same religious sentiment, but then he was no party in the coming conflict.

At last all preparations were complete; and on the 19th the Battalion (Taboor of 800), that is to say, all the infantry we had, mostly new levies from elsewhere—cavalry we never had any—marched away from Jerusalem, as mentioned at the commencement of Chapter I. They issued from the Jaffa Gate, with the green and scarlet religious banners of Nebi Daood (*i.e.* the banners preserved at the Sanctuary of Nebi Daood—the tomb of the Prophet David on Mount Zion), borne before them, as well as their regimental colours.

They halted on the Maidân (*Place*), where the Pashà and all the Mohammedan civic authorities were already placed. The Kadi recited a solemn Litany, to each clause of which the Moslem spectators, as well as the soldiers, responded '*Amen!*'

Then, after a repetition of the grandiose Fathhah (the opening chapter of the Korân), the military and their relatives fell to kissing each other; of course no women were present; and lastly, the fatal word of command was given; no shouting followed, only the solemn silence of resignation, as the last tramp was heard, and the spectators returned home, pondering over the unprecedented state of the country, and unable to foresee what might next occur on the part of Turkish administration, or even on the parts of the several European Governments, in reference to Jerusalem and Palestine.

One of the Effendis, in conversation with me, brought out his recollection of the comet of a month previous.

He might just as well, if he had known it, have referred to the fact of Saturn being then the dominant planet in the Zodiac, and Venus and Jupiter declining in the west at sunset; for I believe that Turkish astrology would accord with the European of old times as to those ominous positions of the greater planets.

The Pashà had lately been found consulting an astrologer as to the Russian prospects of success.

It was amusing to observe the small indications of interest in the war among the people.

Russian coin had been very common in the bazaars for the last two years, being circulated by the Greek Convent, who had been spending very freely upon their agricultural works and buildings. Indeed, Russian gold was almost the only gold to be seen in the bazaars. But now, the day before the departure of the battalion, a poor Jew offered an Imperial to a Moslem dealer; the latter took it, spat upon the coin, and threw it at the Jew's head.

The Russian coinage then disappeared for a while from circulation.

Again, the Turks were acquainted of old with the Russians as warlike neighbours, and the Commandant, before leaving with his soldiers, was threatening to march straight on to 'Petropol;' whereas the Arab Effendis inquired, 'Who are these upstart Russians? We have heard of the French, and English, and Germans, as being honourable foes of Salâhh ed Deen (Saladin); but who are these dead dogs with burnt fathers—the Russians?'

The humbler part of the population, in walking back to the city (others had been on horseback), observed with

more curiosity that, immediately after the disappearance of the troops, four very large columns of sand in the air arrived from the Western quarter, and dashed themselves against the stubborn old castle (Tower of David). These they supposed to represent the principal European Powers approaching, but whether in friendship or in hostility—'praise be to Him who knoweth!' Should the intent be unfriendly, the omen was satisfactory in predicting their discomfiture.

A sketch has thus been given of the internal state of Palestine during the period shortly preceding the departure of our battalion.

The city was now garrisoned by seventeen peasants in gunners' uniform, just drilled enough to be able to fire the cannon if necessary. For active operations we had the Bashi-Bozuk horse, whose principal troop had been, three weeks before, driven from the village of Ain Karem to the very gates of Jerusalem by a handful of peasants—the officer who commanded them on the occasion being the same who, some months ago, allowed a notorious robber to escape from him while he was saying his prayers, the prisoner having his hands bound at the time.

The fortifications of Acre were in a sad state of disrepair; there, too, there was no garrison, but a good deal of gunpowder in the magazines, though without a lightning-rod.

At Jaffa was a good store of ammunition in a broken old tower in the middle of the streets, to the great danger of the inhabitants. The Moslems were persuaded that, after Constantinople, Jerusalem was the next point aimed

at by Russia, and were accordingly warming up alliances among old factions long divided, and the village chiefs were communicating with the Desert tribes.

The country was fully armed, every fellahh (peasant) having his sword in his girdle, and his long gun at his back. Gunpowder they made for themselves out of charcoal, sulphur, and nitre of the country.

But we felt that the patriotism which would certainly animate the population to fight to the last against an invader, existed mostly outside of Jerusalem; for in the Council of Effendis there existed 'a nest of hollow bosoms' capable of selling the city and the Mosque of Omar itself for money.

According to the point of view from which the Mohammedans and the dwellers in Jerusalem regarded European politics, the nations and states were classed according to the religions which they severally professed.

Of course Russia (with Greece) stood at the head of Eastern Christendom; while France took precedence of Austria, Bavaria, Spain, Sardinia, Belgium, &c., which were all included under the general name of Frank or Latin Christians, *i.e.* the Western Church.

That Western Church, with all its political influence, was regarded by the Ottoman Government as the grand counterpoise to the Eastern Church, and was (and still is) the refuge and resort of Turkey in defending herself against the aggressions of Russia under the specious pretext of succouring the oppressed Christians under Turkish rule.

The Greeks, for whom this championship was chiefly assumed by Russia, had no choice or voice in the matter.

They (as well as the Armenians) professed, and in many cases very sincerely, to be loyal subjects of the Sultan, under whom they enjoyed greater liberties than they could ever hope for should they pass under the rigid despotism of Russia.

The Greeks and Armenian subjects of the Sultan were, indeed (as well as all the Eastern Christians), in a most painful predicament whenever it suited Russia to declare a crusade against their sovereign the Sultan—because they were liable, both during the war and in case of the Russians being defeated, to have visited upon themselves all the injuries which Russia might inflict upon Turkey, ostensibly in their name and on their behalf.

The only hope of these Oriental Christians lay in the possible alliance of the Western Powers, and above all of England with the Sultan. Such an alliance would at once deprive the war of its most dangerous characteristic, namely, that of a Holy War between all Christendom on one side, and all Islâm on the other.

That England might step in, as a Christian Power—wholly impartial, and having no conquests or aims of her own in connection with the feuds between the Eastern and Western Churches about possession of the Holy Places, and that England, known hitherto as the practical friend and protector of oppressed people, Christians as well as others, might, by rendering the Sultan timely aid, acquire a right to claim real liberty, both civil and religious, for the Sultan's subjects—this was the ardent prayer and hope of the poor trembling Christians in Turkey; and not only the Christians desired it might be so, but also the Jews and Moslems, who knew by experience

that hitherto Lord Palmerston, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and every true Englishman in the British service, had exerted the immense *prestige* and influence of England with invariable success for the relief and emancipation from tyranny of all classes and creeds of the subjects of the Sultan of Turkey.

When, in March 1853, Sir Hugh Rose [1] called the British fleet up to Vourla Bay, the frightened Christians began to hope that England would take an active part in the war.

Sir Hugh Rose was well known all over Syria. He had been for several years British Consul-General in Beyroot. Europeans knew him as Colonel Rose, but to the natives he was and is to this day 'The Coronel'—the gallant officer who was ever ready to come forward as the champion of the distressed, be they who they might—Druse, Maronite, Moslem, or Jew.

Colonel Rose's forced marches to and from Damascus—in days when there were no roads across the Lebanon—in order to obtain justice when nothing short of his personal interference could have obtained it; his splendid rescue from slaughter of hundreds of old men, women, and children when, during the Lebanon war of the period, he brought a column of defenceless Christian people into safety, marching the whole day at their head and giving up his own horse for the sick while he went on foot; his conduct in visiting the sick and dying when cholera was ravaging the Lebanon in 1848, and when a general panic had so overcome the natives that men feared to remain by their nearest and dearest relations when stricken by

[1] Now Lord Strathnairn.

the pestilence—all these things and a thousand lesser instances are told all over the Lebanon in affectionate remembrance of 'The Coronel.'

And as for the Turkish Pashàs, they knew that the British Consul-General was a man not to be trifled with, and behaved accordingly.

When it became known in 1852 that Colonel, then Sir Hugh Rose was *Chargé d'Affaires* in Constantinople, people felt that British and Christian interests were in safe hands.

When the news came that he had called up the fleet, men said that was just what might have been expected of him.

Mr. Kinglake, in his 'Invasion of the Crimea,' vol. i., thus describes this action of Sir Hugh Rose:—

'Prince Mentschikoff began the duties of his mission and he so acted as to make men see that he was charged to coerce and not to persuade. With his whole embassy he went to the Grand Vizier's apartment at the Porte, but refused to obey the custom which imperatively required that he should wait upon Fuad Effendi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. With him, as it was understood, the Ambassador declined to hold intercourse. Fuad Effendi, the immediate object of the affront, was the ablest member of the Government. He instantly resigned his office. The Sultan accepted his resignation. There was a panic. It was understood that Prince Mentschikoff was going to demand terms deeply humiliating and injurious to the Sultan, and that a refusal to give way would be followed by an instant attack.

'The Grand Vizier believed that the mission, far from

being of a conciliatory character, as pretended, was meant, on the contrary, "to win some important right from Turkey which would destroy her independence, and that the Czar's object was to trample under foot the rights of the Porte and the independence of the Sovereign." In short, the Divan was so taken by surprise and so overwhelmed by alarm, as to be in danger of going to ruin by the path of concession for the sake of averting a sudden blow. But there remained one hope—the English fleet was at Malta; and the Grand Vizier went to Colonel Rose, who was then in charge of our affairs at the Porte, and entreated that he would request our Admiral at Malta to come up to Vourla, in order to give the Turkish Government the support of an approaching fleet. Colonel Rose, being a firm, able man, with strength to bear a sudden load of responsibility, was not afraid to go beyond the range of common duty. He consented to do as he was asked; and although he was disavowed by the Government at home, and although his appeal to the English Admiral was rejected, it is not the less certain that his mere consent to call up the fleet allayed the panic which was endangering at that moment the very life of the Ottoman Empire.'

If it was true that the calling up of the fleet 'allayed a panic in Constantinople which was endangering at that moment the very life of the Ottoman Empire,' it is no less true that it checked a panic in the remoter provinces of the Turkish Empire, which must have ended in indiscriminate massacre of the defenceless Christians; and that it strengthened incalculably the hands of British officials scattered and isolated in Palestine and elsewhere, who

had nothing but moral influence and the *prestige* of the British name to aid them in counteracting hostile intrigue, in reassuring the terrified Christians, in keeping weak and sometimes corrupt Turkish officials to their duty; in short, in preserving the Empire from the ruinous consequences of a Moslem rising, as for a Holy War against all Christians.

Mohammedans are for ever expecting wars between Christendom and Islâm, and to them Christendom is Eastern Christendom; they look forward to the struggle for mastery between these two being renewed again and again by the Christians; and then to a temporary ascendancy of Christianity. This stage has been reached; Christians are gaining the ascendant more and more in the Holy Land and other lands where Islâm impatiently bides its time!

But they expect the day of final triumph after a contest more sanguinary and desperate than any which have preceded it—a real Jehâd, or Holy War, in which all the forces of both sides will at last be arrayed against each other.

To a believing Moslem no fate can be more glorious than to die in combat against the infidel. To die thus is to become a martyr—a witness for the truth—to enter Paradise from the battle-field. This it is which nerves the sincere Moslem for any contingency, which gives him courage to face any odds; to walk into the cannon's mouth; to stand while grape-shot mows down the ranks; to dig his own grave first in the trenches and then to take pick or shovel or weapon from the hands of his dying comrade and to step coolly into his place and

work on, though the next moment may bring shot or shell to lay him low, maimed or dead.

To a true Moslem every fight with a Christian is a fight for his religion—a Holy War to that extent. Christians have a right to toleration only so long as they are obedient and submissive. When they break the compact by taking up arms they are rebels, and must be treated as rebels and infidels.

It was amusing to hear the bazaar talk in Jerusalem at the beginning of the Russian war, and afterwards when an alliance between Turkey and some of the European nations was first mooted.

People were so ignorant, even among the upper classes of Moslems, that it was gravely said that the Sultan, being attacked by the Christians (Russians), was about to call upon his vassals for aid in money and by arms.

Was not the Sultan the Khalîf-Allah? Did not he give permission to the Frank kings and queens to put on their crowns and swords after they had first made submission to him on their accession? Did not each king and queen take oath to come and fight for the Sultan when called upon?

And now he was going to call upon the Queen of England, as his friend (and vassal), and upon the Latin kings, or at any rate upon their leader, the French Emperor, because the enemy was leader of the Greek Church, and the Latin Church and nations must from duty and from policy come at the call of their suzerain and fight till the offender had been chastised. If they, the vassals, came when summoned and did their duty—well; if not,

why, they must be supposed to have made common cause with the enemy.

And then? why, then the Green Flag must be unfurled, the Jehâd (Holy War) must be proclaimed against all Christians—in Circassia and Asiatic Russia—in Algeria against the French—in India against the English—all true believers would rise as one man, and, Inshallah! it would not be long before the last great triumph, the coming of Mohammed, and victory for ever to Islâm.

'What idle talk all this is!' some would say, and laugh.

But it seemed to us that words could never be quite idle, however erroneous, so long as thousands and millions of men, women, and children believe in them, are influenced by them, and are ready, at whatever sacrifice, to act blindly upon them.

PART II.

FROM DECLARATION OF THE WAR TO INVASION OF THE CRIMEA

CHAPTER XIII.

JERUSALEM AND PALESTINE WITHOUT TURKISH TROOPS.

Tufenkchies—Thievery in the City—News of the Russian War—Latin Patriarch at Bait Jala—A Judgment effected in behalf of the Latins—General Sir Charles O'Donnell—Convent bigotry—Protestants in Bethlehem—The Rev. John Nicolayson—Safety in our Camp—Fighting in the Villages—Endeavours to stop the Slaughter—800 Bedaween between Jerusalem and Bethlehem—Bedaween in Bethlehem—Strange contrasts of War and Peace.

On entering the city, after the parting scene of our battalion, the gates were found to be sentinelled with common Tufenkchies.

We had been well accustomed to the appearance of these Tufenkchies, called out of compliment by foreign Consuls the 'municipal police,' but in reality ragged hobbledehoys, bearing no other emblem of office than a peeled wand in hand, and chiefly employed in conveying official messages from the Seraglio.

The Turkish word Tufenkchie means a musketeer, but, like many designations in the East, it has practically lost its primitive signification in course of time. Thus the Pashà, instead of being literally a viceroy,[1] may be a far inferior officer—civil in fact, though military in theory—in one of the grades corresponding to the rank of brigadier-

[1] In Persian the Pa-shah is the king's foot, *i.e.* standing in the place of the king—as we learn that the ancient monarchs of Persia had one court officer called 'the king's eye,' another 'the king's hand,' &c.

general, lieutenant-general, and provincial commander-in-chief (Mir-Lewa, Mir-Merân, and Sar-i-askar). Thus, also, when a regiment falls short of its complement (as is generally the case), the Yuz-Bashi (head of a hundred) commands perhaps half that number, and the Bin-Bashi (head of a thousand) commands no greater proportion.

The designation of the 'gens d'arme' attached to the Consuls, etc., has in like manner lost its original significance. A Kawwâs ought to be a bowman, *i.e.* 'an archer,' armed with bow and arrows, instead of which he is nowadays armed with pistols and sword, and is most commonly recognised by a silver-headed staff which he carries before his chief.

Our new Tufenkchie sentinels were in no way superior to those heretofore seen in Jerusalem; they were, in fact, the very same mean-looking persons, only they were now furnished with old-fashioned rusty guns, and were, in the absence of any military, posted at the city gates.

These Tufenkchies, for the city, and Bashi-Bozuks (irregular horse), for the country, were our only Government defence for the whole province, extending from Jeneen to El-Arish (*i.e.* the north of Samaria to the Egyptian Desert), at a time too when the peasant factions were rife with turbulence, and the Bedaween hordes had recently approached within sight of our crenellated walls. The men came into the streets and bazaars fully armed as they were. When we had sentinels at the gates in ordinary times they had at least to leave their spears, if not their guns, with the guard before passing into the city. There were also Bedawy women and many gipsies to be seen in Jerusalem.

The adjoining northern Pashalic of Acre was no better off, the very fortress of St. Jean d'Acre being only manned by a few gunners—peasantry recently drilled for their work.

While the Government was thus powerless the peasantry as well as the Bedaween were in full activity. Several armourers in Jerusalem were at work night and day repairing their arms. Old feuds were revived, offences long put aside, though not forgotten, were now remembered, and everybody was talking about vengeance, and battles and victories over this faction or that.

It was now time for me to gird up my loins, in a moral sense, for making my position available for the general good, although I was without the least item of directions or suggestions from either London or Constantinople. All the communications that I received from those centres during the whole war were limited to the merest technicalities of office business. But, as I have said before, there was reason to believe that such was not the case with my colleagues in their relations to higher quarters.

In preparation for any eventuality, from whatever direction it might come, it was clearly right and expedient to get full and accurate information as to the state of the whole country, and as to every movement among the inhabitants. To effect this, and in order that so wide a range of territory as that over which our Consulate extended might be fully under inspection, it was necessary to have agents conveniently placed, as I have before explained.

My English-born cancellière, Mr. E. T. Rogers, had lately received the appointment of Vice-Consul at Caifa (Hhaifu), where the amount of merchant shipping business was on the increase. He was despatched to his post, with instructions to attend to and report to Jerusalem cases occurring in Nazareth, Safet, and Tiberias, in each of which there were English *protégés*. (Caifa, at the foot of Mount Carmel, was conveniently situated for observing all these places.)

The fears of the Jerusalem population augmented from day to day, particularly among the Christians and Jews, unarmed as they were, and unaccustomed to the use of arms. The European residents and protected persons looked up to their respective Consulates, and the Consulates looked up to the helpless Pashà.

Each Consul had his own separate medium of vision on which to speculate on future contingencies, and on the action which it might in certain cases behove him to take.

The Turkish ruler, Hhafiz Pashà, described before, while maintaining perfect ceremonious cordiality with them all, naturally kept closer relations with the French and English representatives, on account of the expected military alliance in the event of positive war. The poor old man grew feebler from day to day as age gained upon him. It was piteous to behold him, bodily weakness and the anxieties of office rapidly exhausting the vital powers. People said he was eighty years of age, and it seemed likely to be true.

During the interval in which military protection had no existence for us, irregularities of all kinds naturally

took place, such as robbery on the high roads, the revival of the faction feuds of which we have lately had so much, and other acts of petty resistance to Government authority on the part of the peasantry. The opportunity was eagerly seized for everybody to do as they liked, though the results might have been worse than they actually were.

In less than a week after the departure of the troops the people of Abu Dees, a village just across the Mount of Olives, to the east, were plundering the shepherds of Malhha, one of the Hhassanîyeh villages to the south of Jerusalem.

Soon afterwards, on a lovely Sunday afternoon, I was at my cottage door at the Talibîyeh (our country place, within a mile west of the city), released from the cares of the past week, and sitting under our trellised vine, with a bush of white roses at the window on one hand, and a luxuriant hhalazoneh (flowering creeper) rising on the other, surrounded by the family, and reading out passages; now resting the book upon my knee and looking over the Holy City in direct front of us, and towards the summit of Olivet, now gazing in dreamy study on the Moab mountains, with their subdued colouring and pearly lustre pertaining to that season of the year—in an Oriental reverie upon the fact that no human habitation existed in that direction between us and the great river, the river Euphrates—when in one moment a rush of about thirty men of Malhha (peasantry, of course) scaled our low boundary-wall, dashing forward, shouting, most of them stripped to the waist, and all armed, with guns, pistols, and khanjars (the short sword in common use among them).

We called out to them, 'Whither away, friends?' But they were too eager to stop and explain.

Our first supposition was naturally that they were going to take revenge on the people of Abu Dees, that village being exactly in the line they were taking, although the desperate haste seemed rather unnecessary. It turned out that this was not their present enterprise; the Abu Dees foray had been already dealt with, retaliation made, and the flocks recovered, to the number of about 200 head.

The present affair was that the same flocks had again been laid hold of just at the foot of my grounds (which sloped from the cottage downwards towards the Rephaim plain), by a roving party of wild Bedaween—Tiyâhah Arabs from the far South. These, however, on perceiving the force of the Malhhahites, made off, abandoning the booty they were sweeping before them, and thus there was no fight this time. Our Malhha friends returned in more leisurely fashion, some by the way they had so unceremoniously come, and made civil apologies for the intrusion, urging the necessity of promptitude in the case. The scene was strange and unexpected.

We now learned that the marauders were Tiyâhah and Jehhaleen united, who were returning from a successful ghazu (foray) near Baisân (Beth-shan, up the Jordan Valley towards Tiberias), where they had captured several 'sticks'[1] of camels and many 'sticks' of sheep and goats. They had no objection to augment their booty with whatever came in their way.

[1] By a 'stick' (*'assa*) of cattle is meant so many of them as would be contained within a space over which a man (generally mounted) can throw his stick, or within a circle whose radius is measured in the same way.

Never before had we known wild desert plunderers to exercise their vocation under the very walls of Jerusalem. How near the city gates (and now harmless guns) they had actually ventured we soon found out, and also that there were some cattle which, however tempting, even these wild fellows had a wholesome fear of meddling with.

Two of the ladies and children of our party had been attending the afternoon service at Christchurch, on Mount Zion, and our groom, an Egyptian, and a shrewd old fellow, had gone down the hill with two saddle asses to bring them back, shortly before the alarm of the peasantry. The Bedaween, mounted on their dromedaries, met our groom at the foot of the ascent to the Jaffa gate of the city and cast a longing eye at the led animals, one of which was a remarkably fine specimen of the Egyptian ass, and of course somewhat valuable.

'Whose are those?' asked the Bedaween.

'The English Consul's; best for you not so much as to look at them,' retorted our groom. The Bedaween were of his opinion and rode forward, to fall in five minutes afterwards with the flock of sheep and goats and sweep them off by way of comfort at having had to exercise so much self-denial. Fortune was against them here too, for, as we have seen, the peasant owners somehow got wind of what was going on, and came to the rescue just in time to decide the Bedaween upon a hasty retreat minus the cattle.

Next morning on the ride to my usual office business in town I was met by the Shaikh of the Jehhâleen, Hhaj Daif Allah, and his brother, together with the giant

Saf-ez-Zeer (a thieving outlaw of the Ta'amra, who had broken loose from the respectable portion of his tribe, with two or three followers as great scamps as himself).

Here they were, on the very morrow of the escapade of the day before, in all the innocence of their hearts on their way to pay me a friendly visit, and they coolly reported that in the Baisân foray they had '*gained*' (!) sixty cows and thirty asses from the S'koor Arabs, near Tiberias, but made no mention of the plunder above described.

What could I do under the circumstances? Glad to escape from the duty of giving them hospitable reception as guests at my camp, the morning salutations were simply pronounced. But I sent word after them that I was resolved to make no presents to Arabs till the return of soldiery to Jerusalem.

Within the city I found people in a state of alarm on account of burglaries by night, which were becoming of frequent occurrence. So much gunpowder was fired off in order to frighten away real or imaginary robbers that people persuaded themselves that attacks were much more frequent than they really were.

It was, of course, my duty to take note of these occurrences and to represent them to the authorities; that is to say, to the Pashà, poor man, and to the notables of the city.

The chief of the police was well known to be the head of the burglars. He was notoriously the worst man in the country, and had been removed from office some five years before through the influence of our Embassy at Constantinople on account of his concern in

the murder of a British subject, a poor pedlar, who had incurred his hatred and had been destroyed under circumstances of great cruelty. We succeeded in proving the murder, but it was not so easy to bring it home to the criminal, though he was perfectly well known to have had the principal share in it. The only thing we could do was done, in getting him displaced from office on account of his many other delinquencies.

For some years past the thieves had been quiet. They had found us too vigilant and active in detecting and bringing them to justice, and we heard but little of them as far as British subjects were concerned.

Now, however, their old chief had once more got himself back into office; and though he was careful not to get into the hands of the Consulate, people were very much frightened at the robberies which were committed in the houses of natives and of many Europeans. Times were no doubt very favourable for the burglars, whether village peasants or town thieves, with their allies in the police.[1]

Our intelligence from without was both scant and slow. News of the Turkish resolution in favour of war,

[1] It is difficult to convey to readers of this history the sense of security which British subjects and *protégés* enjoyed in the midst of all the confusion and disorder in the country. Yet at the very moment while things were as described in these pages, we all were in our summer encampments—coming and going without any extra precautions—taking our evening stroll alone—our children rambling about the neighbourhood. The whole secret lay in this: the British Consul was believed to have means of finding out everything—past experience led to that belief. He was further believed to write down everything, and to make reports to his superiors. Sir Stratford Canning, in Constantinople, and Lord Palmerston, in London, were the embodiment in people's minds of British government and energy. Criminals were known to be unfailingly brought to justice sooner or later. It was felt by evildoers to be unsafe to meddle with anybody under British protection.

and the crossing of the Danube by Omar Pashà, reached us so long after date that we felt more concerned with what was passing around us than with what seemed only thunder at a distance. It was with glee, however, that after a time M. Botta announced that France and England were not going to be any longer 'humbugged' (his own expression in English) by the Vienna transactions: they were to prosecute the war 'honourably.'

This intelligence bore upon our own position. The fact of active co-operation by France and England with Turkey could not fail to prove a real protection, first of all to British subjects, but secondly, and in no slight degree, to all Christians; because the very fact of Christian Powers being ranged on the Sultan's side must deprive the war of its most dangerous aspect, as a Holy War of all Moslems against the Christians, and at once do away with any pretext for general massacres of Christians by Moslems.

The Austrian Consul had hitherto been accustomed to regard lightly all idea of real war being at hand, seeing that the Conferences at Vienna had undertaken, out of compassion to poor Turks, to avert the peril from them and all annoyance from every other quarter. And who so able to do this as the Austrians, always masters in diplomacy, besides being of the Western Church, and yet not French? The officers of an Austrian frigate who

Then the native population had received so much help in getting impartial justice through the British Consul—he was so well known to be willing to give any amount of patience and trouble in aid of a righteous cause—that he was trusted and respected as well as feared. In those days British influence could do more for the protection of human life than armies of soldiers could have done.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

had lately visited us (in September) were entirely of the same mind; they had, however, supplied their Consulate with some barrels of gunpowder and a store of firearms for its defence, on account of some rabble of the streets having lately broken some of the windows there while shouting 'Down with the infidels!' M. Pizzamano, when thus provided, notified to the Pashà his intention to fire upon the first man that should offer indignity to his Consulate or to his person as a soldier. So he told us; and it would thus seem that his species of diplomacy was founded on the maxim, 'Si vis pacem para bellum.'

We had also learned from Constantinople that Western or Latin Christianity was to be strengthened in Jerusalem, by having the Holy City made the station for Consuls-General, instead of Bayroot, and that several new representatives of European Latin kingdoms were to be established, viz., those of Spain, Naples, etc., who all together were to combine in forming a bulwark against the sole protection of (Latin) Christianity hitherto usurped by 'ces Messieurs les Français.'[1]

Of course there could be no more favourable moment for advancing Latin interests in the Turkish Empire than now, while their ancient rivals the Easterns (Russian and Greek) were in open hostility with Turkey.

So thought not only the political leaders of Latin Christianity, but also our energetic Latin Patriarch, Monsignore Valerga. From the beginning of His Grace's accession to office (in 1847) he had been zealous in

[1] M. Pizzamano's hopes were not fulfilled till the end of 1857, when he was raised to the rank of Consul-General. A Spanish Consulate was established in Jerusalem in 1854.

furthering, in every possible way, the progress and the stability of the Latin Church. Since his arrival in Jerusalem, in 1848, he had cast his eyes on the village of Bait Jala as a desirable possession, and he had besides earnestly laboured to establish a Seminary or Patriarchal College for the education of Syrian youth.

The village of Bait Jala lies near Bethlehem. Travellers in that country can scarcely fail to observe it from the site of Rachel's Sepulchre, on the way from Jerusalem. Bethlehem lies on one side, and on the opposite side there is a hilly range clothed with an extensive olive plantation, and from the midst of these trees rises a cheerful-looking but small village. That village is Bait Jala.

There was then as now among its houses what was unparalleled in South Palestine, a Christian village church of the Greek rite, which was distinguishable at a distance by its somewhat larger size than the peasant dwellings, and by its round dome—not large, yet sufficiently conspicuous to attract the eye.

Simple as was its appearance, and unlike to a village church in England, it stood, and stands, a monument of Christianity in a Mohammedan country. In this respect the two villages of Bethlehem and Bait Jala were sisters and neighbours; only Bethlehem, having an immense common church (sacred and common to all the Christians), besides a Latin one and three huge convents, with a bustling, active population, had not the peculiar rural atmosphere of the other.

The population in both was for the most part Chris-

tian, but in Bait Jala the people (about 3,000 in number) were of the Greek orthodox rite.

Often have I heard the anecdote repeated of a group of travellers passing from Jerusalem to Bethlehem under the guidance of a Franciscan friar, pointing to the village in its olive grove and asking their leader whether its inhabitants were Christian, being told, 'Non sono Christiani —sono Greci.'

On this village of Bait Jala, near to the Sanctuary of Bethlehem, yet not like Bethlehem, under the dominion of the Franciscans, the Latin Patriarch had cast his eyes. There were, however, difficulties in the way; but to some men difficulties seem only to exist in order that they may remove them.

The difficulties were these. The villagers—all of the Greek communion—were so much bound under various obligations to the Greek convent as to be practically their serfs. His Grace enquired, 'Are there no Latins there?' 'None,' was the answer; 'they have all emigrated into Bethlehem.' 'But when they removed did they leave no lands, no claims on land, no olive-trees behind them?' 'Oh, yes, and they use them still.'

Here was ground to go upon; and upon this basis—the fact that some former Latin inhabitants of Bait Jala still were recognised owners of property in their old home, a plan was projected and carrried out by the Patriarch for recovering—not merely foothold—but a paramount position at Bait Jala for the Latin Church.

As Greek influence declined at Constantinople on the approach of war, the rival Latin influence rose in pro-

portion—and Patriarch Valerga, backed by the French Embassy at the Porte, improved his opportunity. The Bethlehemite emigrants from Bait Jala were induced by various means to repair their old family houses—or to build new ones, however small or slight, and then to let out two or three of these to His Grace on a repairing lease. After some few months of holding these he demolished them and built one good house in their stead, in which he took up his own country residence.

To dislodge some insignificant person, being a Latin intruder, might have been easy to the Greek Convent—to dislodge even a Patriarchal chaplain; but to get rid of the Patriarch himself in person, with all his suite of chaplains and secretaries—Italians and Frenchmen, with the powerful protection of their respective nationalities, backed by the Court of Rome itself—here was a difficult problem indeed.

During the earlier stages of the affair the thick-headed peasantry put every imaginable obstacle in his path, at the instigation of their clergy who would as lief have seen the enemy of all mankind among them (perhaps rather—for they might trust to be able to cast him out) as a Roman Catholic propagandist. Bullets were fired into his windows and into the windows of his chaplain and his secretary, in order to frighten them away. The people even concerted a plan for carrying off His Grace bodily and blindfolded to some distant place.

Ignorant creatures! They little comprehended the strength that lies in the pertinacity of Europeans in carrying out a plan well digested and resolved on; they had as yet had but little experience how Romish

designs can thrive under pressure of opposition, when there is temporal power at command. Violence on their part was the very thing needed to promote the Patriarchal success.

Herein lies very often the difference between Europeans and Asiatics.

The persecutions and sufferings were represented at Constantinople to the full extent of the facts. Then followed progress on the Latin side: from stage to stage things went on, the natives being, as always, worshippers of success; till at present the dark, rich olive grove of Bait Jala encloses a quadrangle of European buildings, formed by a Patriarchal palace, a church of pointed architecture, and a Collegiate seminary; but this is anticipating events, which shall be related according to date as we arrive at them in our history.

Curiously enough, while Latin influences were thus naturally in the ascendant, we had some little incidents marking the state of feeling as regarded Protestants. One of our traveller visitors about this time was Major-General Sir Charles O'Donnell, formerly in Bombay service, but now fresh from the Danube, and able to give us news of the Turkish army as 100,000 strong, in excellent spirits, and having a few good officers (rather a rarity at that time in the Ottoman service—the privates being generally far better soldiers than their officers), also some Prussians over the artillery and some French among the cavalry. He had passed through Constantinople, Athens, and Smyrna, which had afforded him opportunities for observing the general condition of affairs in all these places. Sir Charles had intended to do as is usual with

travellers—break the long ride from Jaffa into two days' journey, by resting the first night at Ramlah.

On ringing the bell at the Latin Convent there, one of the friars (it may be supposed the one whose duty it was to attend to strangers) looked over the parapet above the gate, and among other enquiries asked, 'Are you a Protestant?' 'What is that to you?' was the rejoinder; 'I am a traveller in the Holy Land, and ask the hospitality for the giving of which your house was built.' 'Are you a Catholic?' 'Did you ever hear,' said he, 'of an O'Donnell that was not one?' (This argument was peculiarly to the point, seeing that most of the inmates there are always Spaniards, and should know who the O'Donnells are). 'My family have been better Catholics than you, or all of you put together.' 'Are you a Protestant?' 'Well it so happens that in this case I am a Protestant.' 'Then you cannot be admitted.'

Sir C. O'Donnell turned away to the small Armenian Hospice, where, to his surprise, he met with exactly the same reception, and he had to proceed on his journey through the night to Jerusalem.

Probably the refusal in both instances originated in some stupid monkish confusion of ideas about politics and war, each party, though with such separate interests, expecting that now its own faction of Christianity would rise, and the tide of events would be turned on its behalf.

Not long before an English lady of rank had met with the same treatment on a hot day at Bethlehem from the Greek Convent. The same refusal on the ground of being a Protestant was made to her after long ringing at the gate, and the lady had to pass on.

Anyone who knows from experience the intense reverberation of the sun's heat at that gate almost all the year round, will, and no others will, be able to appreciate this conduct of the anti-protestant fanatics.

It was remarkable that all the sects who have convents, professedly with provision for hospitality to wayfarers, should at one and the same time have adopted the same course, not against each other—for that was unnecessary, but against the one class of Christians who had no such hospices.

However, I had the case of Sir Charles O'Donnell represented to the President of Terra Santa, in Jerusalem, and after that no more such complaints were heard from travellers.

With respect to the community of Protestants in Bethlehem I took pains, in consideration of my official position, to avoid all appearance of promoting a Protestant faction in that town. The word faction is here intentionally used, because experience has shown that it is possible for native peasantry to call themselves Protestants when their 'protesting' only arises from personal pique, or from the mercenary hope (always disappointed) of having their taxes paid for them, as they would be on their joining other religious communities.

Yet very far be it from me to hint that there are no converts from enlightened and conscientious motives. The contrary is certainly the case.

There were dissensions enough in Bethlehem; still there was the fact that there was a Protestant congregation existing there, and that it was recognised as such by the local Government.

I once took a few friends with me to inspect the school of the native Protestants, and to inquire into the instruction of the pupils. We found the children cheerful and their parents happy. The latter crowded up to the windows to see what was going on. I heard the children repeat our Church Catechism, in which they were quite as well grounded as I had been accustomed to find village children in England; and I must confess to a sensation of pleasure on hearing its contents recited in that peculiar place, and pronounced with their strong rustic utterance of Arabic, so different from the simpering or lisping accent of most of the Jerusalem Christians.

They read chapter xx. of St. Matthew, and the schoolmaster (a native) made them a short address upon what they had read, concluding with prayers, consisting of some of the collects from our Prayer-Book.

All this was satisfactory for a school only seven months established.[1] The parents and friends choked up the doorway and climbed in at the windows, and among them was the old man mentioned before as having seen Sydney Smith in his youth. He was now, and had been for some time, one of the Shaikhs of the town. After an *al fresco* meal on an open terrace commanding fine views spread before them, our party returned to Jerusalem, being accompanied on their way by the Bethlehemites, with gun-firings and rejoicings as on arrival.

By this time we had reached the month of October. The season had not yet broken up, and we were still out in our summer camp; but the appearance of distant lightning on the evening of October 1st

[1] It has now been long since made over to a Prussian Mission there.

gave presage of a coming change, and that commencement of the rains was at hand. The wind rose at night and a good deal of rain fell.

Of course there was talk of striking the tents and moving into town for the winter; but the first rains rarely last more than two or three days, and are followed by delightful weather, with hot sunshine, so that we were not willing to hurry our removal out of the delicious, pure country air. October 2nd being Sunday, the grown members of our own and of the Bishop's encampment (which included the camp of the English missionary clergyman and his family) went to town as usual for the services at Christchurch, on Mount Zion, beginning with the early Arabic service at seven o'clock in the morning.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

There was in those days an early service at Christchurch, on Mount Zion, on certain Sunday mornings, in the Arabic language, for the benefit of the Oriental Christians who had become members of our congregation. It was conducted by the incumbent, the Rev. John Nicolayson.

No account of the inhabitants and condition of the Holy City would be complete without some mention of him. A Dane by birth, but in English orders, and thoroughly attached to our Church and nation, Mr. Nicolayson was the oldest English resident in Jerusalem of our European community. During nearly thirty years he had laboured here as missionary to the Jews, and he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the principal languages, the manners, customs, and peculiarities of the various inhabitants of the land. To his prudence, tact, and courage during the early years of his residence may be attributed much of the success that attended the establishment of the Mission in Palestine, the founding of the Medical Mission, the building of the church, and the gathering of the congregation around him.

Mr. Nicolayson had lived in Jerusalem during many years of anxiety and danger, when there were no laws of toleration in the Turkish Empire, no Consular protectors for foreigners, no Turkish-born authorities resident in Jerusalem, and no steamers or railways to facilitate communication with Europe. He lived through the dangerous and troublous times that followed the Greek War of Independence and during the struggles of the Egyptian Viceroy, Mehemet Ali, and his son, Ibrahim Pashà, for supremacy in Syria, which ended in the war of 1841, and which restored that country to the Turks. He and his family went through the dangers of siege, famine, earthquake, and plague, and were preserved through them all.

The experience gained through so long and eventful a life enabled Mr. Nicolayson to form sound opinions on the character of the various inhabitants and on the condition of the country. His calm, quiet courage was of immense value in times of difficulty or danger. He was known and respected all over the land—by Jews, Turks, Christians of the different Churches, and by the Europeans, with all of whom he was able to converse in their own language. He had studied Arabic deeply.

As before mentioned, it was he who used to conduct the early service on Sundays in that language. As incumbent of the Church he also had charge of the Hebrew, English, and German services; but in these the Bishop and the other missionaries took part.

It was our custom to attend this Arabic service, and this made it necessary to leave the camp very early in the morning. The English service followed at ten o'clock.

In order to avoid the going to and fro, we used to breakfast and dine with Mr. Nicolayson between the services, and to return to camp after the last was over. Very delightful were the quiet hours thus spent in his house, the change from the fatigues and anxieties of the week to the rest and refreshment, not only of the absence from all business, but of the pleasant intercourse with our old friend. My husband's journals contain touching allusions to these visits and to the charm of Mr. Nicolayson's 'chastened conversation,' when topics of the deepest

interest as concerning the Holy Land and all the future that lay before the Christian Church and the people of Israel occupied our attention. This was natural, considering the wonderful changes that Mr. Nicolayson here in Jerusalem, and we ourselves first at a distance, and then here, had watched passing over the land and the people of Israel.

Passing events were bringing the Holy City more and more into notice among the great nations of the world. It was impossible to avoid the conviction that never again could Jerusalem be the unnoticed Eastern town which we had known it to be; that ere long the interest of the nations would gather around and centre in the place from which we were watching with intensest interest the unfolding of the mighty events which were just then beginning to develop themselves.

These quiet Sundays on Mount Zion stand out in contrast to the turmoil and restlessness of our lives during the week. All the inhabitants knew that Sunday was our day of rest. They never attempted to bring before us any business which could be deferred till the next morning. Excepting in cases of absolute necessity none disturbed us on that day. In the afternoon we returned to our camp.

Strange as it may seem, we had not the smallest misgiving or anxiety as to the safety of our young children left there with the few servants of our usual household; not the slightest ground for fearing that even passing strangers might try to pilfer some of the property in our tents. The English were looked upon by all the people among whom we were as friends, to whom everybody alike resorted for advice or aid, and, as I have before said, there was at that time a firm belief in there being the strong though unseen hand of British power, which would sooner or later lay hold of wrong-doers and bring them to account. Our foreign friends did not understand this; they marvelled at our courage in going about freely and being so much at our ease. They used occasionally to visit us in our encampment and ask 'if we were not afraid, not even at night,' when the city gates were shut and locked for the night, and when help (even had there been any soldiers or

police to help) could not have been called. The truth was that the people among whom we lived would themselves have been the losers had any harm happened to us, and this they knew full well.

They were, moreover, greatly the gainers by having within reach and among them, in the Consul, an official whose long residence, and opportunities well used, gave him so intimate a knowledge of them all, and whom they knew by experience to be ever the ready helper of the oppressed. By this they were great gainers, and they knew that well also. They were glad to conciliate our friendship. The leaders as well as the people among the various peasant factions would have been the first to find out anyone who might have attempted to do us harm.

The comfort and safety which we thus enjoyed through the *prestige* of the British influence was, however, the result of years of patient labour on the part of the British authorities, from the Consul himself to the Ambassador in Constantinople and the chief rulers in England. During those years unceasing vigilance had been exercised; no single case needing redress had been neglected. Sometimes there had been unavoidable delays in securing the triumph of justice, but when it did come the effect was all the greater in the punishment of a wrong-doer, who had begun to hope that his misdeeds had been forgotten, or in the unexpected amends made to some victim of oppression who had already despaired of his cause.

It is only during times of stress like those we are now describing that the thoroughness of work can be tested. Happy was it for Palestine that there was in existence an influence capable of restraining the restlessness and the disorder, and of preventing a wide-spread outbreak of open anarchy. We were well aware that serious disturbances in the Holy City and in Palestine would have much complicated the political difficulties of the day. That disturbances might have broken out, and that they must soon have become serious, the present narrative abundantly shows.

When we returned to our tents on that Sunday afternoon, a native, who had been to Bethlehem, brought us

word that great preparations for war were making in that place. As night came on we could see large signal-fires at the south-western village of Bait Safâfa ; we could hear the shouts—sometimes clearly distinguishing even the voices—and also the discharges of musketry, which were probably challenges of defiance. Early in the morning came the tidings of more troubles at Ain Karem, which is also a Hhassaniyeh village, but farther off—west of us, and lying on the confines between the territories of Abu Gosh and Othmân el Lahhâm. These two, it will be remembered, were the chiefs of the hostile districts. I sent word of what was going on to the Pashà at the Seraglio—getting the message spoken through the closed city gates, by my man, to the sentinels on duty.

By daybreak in the morning I also sent off a mounted kawwâs with a message from myself to the belligerents above-named, reminding them that the Pashà's truce of August 4th had not yet expired, and that I should neither forget nor forgive these doings on the return of the military force. The messenger found Othmân el Lahhâm in person at Malhha—another of the villages south-west of us—where the factions were ranged in battle against each other. Several lives had been lost on the path between that village and Ain Karem. The hills were occupied by look-out men and by women screaming their war-cries to animate the combatants.

The Government did nothing during the day; and our Bishop, fearing a possible descent of Othmân el Lahhâm upon Lifta, had suddenly broken up his family camp near that place, one of the Abu Gosh villages on the north-west of us. I rode round in the evening to

the spot, and found it in possession of a detachment of peasantry from the village, posted so as to secure their houses from a surprise during the coming night.

After dark the Bait Safâfa people had more bonfires, and the yells and firing of signals were kept up at intervals; not, however, as mere bravado, for (what is extremely rare in village warfare) the fighting continued through the night, but in the interest of both parties. The number of killed was not published. The effect of all this during the night was most strange, and it was not the least curious part of the whole that our safety was in no kind of danger from either side. Having sent the kawwâs to the one chief in the morning, I commissioned my Vice-Consul, Mr. Rogers, who was about starting in the afternoon for his post at Caiffa, and who was to stay for the night at the village capital of Abu Gosh (Kuriet el Anab, situated, as every traveller knows, in the pass on the way to Jaffa), to remonstrate with the commander-in-chief of the enemy, *i.e.* Abu Gosh himself.

On this day tidings had reached us from Bayroot, through the French authorities, that fighting had begun in Europe between the Russians and the Turks.

This was confirmed by M. Botta next morning, Oct. 4; and we were also informed that M. Basili, the Russian Consul-General, was ordered away by the Turkish Musheer (Governor-General), and that engagements had taken place between the outposts on the Danube.

We sent to make further inquiries of the Russian Archimandrite, and found him engaged with the Austrian Consul talking over a dangerous conspiracy that had been brought to light in Constantinople, involving the

Sultan's brother, Abdu 'l'Azîz,[1] and the Shaikhu 'l'Islâm. The report was that the former of these had been put in arrest, and that the Sultan had a French and also an English steamer in readiness for carrying off himself and his family at any moment if necessary.

There were not wanting significant comments among the people in Jerusalem, native and foreign, as to the probable causes of these intrigues and plots. Some, while able to believe in the possibility of attempts such as these being made to complicate matters, considered that the present account 'merited confirmation.'

At this period I one day noticed in the street a Russian priest escorting, under the protection of his clerical character, a Circassian in his native costume—a magnificent specimen of an Asiatic mountaineer. It would have been interesting had one been able to penetrate to the inner recesses of these men's minds with respect to the future.

They were about to leave the Holy City, and this not of free choice; yet it could only be that the priest as well as our Russian Archimandrite, who had packed up, ready to follow at a moment's notice, were looking forward to a successful crusade of the orthodox faith—one which should have a very different termination to that waged by the Western nations of old.

We read afterwards in the public journals, as reported by their correspondents, that in the march of Russian armies Southwards the men at their nightly halts in-

[1] Abdu 'l Azîz, the late Sultan, whose deposition took place in May 1876. In 1861 he succeeded the Sultan Abdu 'l Majeed, his brother, who was reigning at the time of our narrative.

quired of the peasantry upon whom they were billeted how far they still were from Jerusalem! thus showing what feeling had been inculcated in their minds before commencing the march, as to the ultimate objects of this war.

The warfare nearer at hand was going on briskly. We heard a great deal of the fighting during the night, and learned next morning that many lives had been lost.

I was leaving the city for my tent on the afternoon of the 6th, when I was accosted by Shâikh Hhamdân, of the Ta'amra, and by Mohammed Abu Dees, of the same tribe. They dismounted from their mares, and the former came to inform me that Othmân el Lahhâm had commissioned him to say to me that the war had lasted long enough; that it was time to desist, since the wild desert Arabs were coming up uninvited as auxiliaries to each side, which was not desirable; that he knew me to be a friend to the Dowlet el 'Alîyeh (Sublime Government) and to the public peace in general; therefore, &c., &c.

Unwilling to be entrapped as a partisan or even as an arbitrator, my reply was merely that Othmân must himself write to the Pashà, for that I would do nothing but through the channel of the Turkish Government.

What was done I know not, though on the same day I visited the Pashà for friendly conference and also to congratulate his son on newly-acquired honours. But we had heard in the early morning the peasantry still screaming defiance at each other; and all those whom we met on our way into the city were fully armed.

One small party meeting another announced that Abu Gosh had taken Ain Karem (about four miles from

our camp). It was probably because his antagonist Othmân found fortune going against him that he wished for my intervention in favour of peace.

The weather was still bright, with dewy nights; and it was with reluctance that we, being now the last party out in tents, broke up our camp and moved into town for the winter.

The contrast was odd enough between events passing outside the gates, and our city life, with the round of visits to the Bishop and various English and foreign friends, including the customary state visit in uniform at the Prussian Consulate on the King's birthday, where our old friend M. Weber held the reception in absence of the Consul, and where the Latin Patriarch and other dignitaries were assembled. Sir Charles O'Donnell being with us, and having brought the latest tidings, the war furnished our subjects of discourse here and with the Pashà, the Austrian Consul and the Armenian Patriarch, and at our other visits, the last of which was in attendance at an evening reception at our Bishop's in honour of his Prussian Majesty's birthday.

We also called upon the Greek Bishop and the Latin Patriarch. The Greeks were anxious to declare themselves faithful subjects of the Sultan and not adherents of Russia.

The disturbed state of the country did not prevent the chief of another Bedawy tribe from the East, Shaikh Deeâb, of the Adwân, from visiting me. He came with two of his people to arrange for the escort of British travellers to Jerash and the Ammon country, on the eastern side of the Jordan.

Hitherto that part of the country had been very little accessible to visitors, and our Arab friends were willing to enter into a treaty for the safe convoy of persons willing to pay a fixed sum in return. What mattered it to them that the kings of the earth were in a state of agitation—that the Sultan and the Muscovite Emperor were at war?

All this was very far off; but English travellers were known to the wild men, and they were prepared to make them welcome as guests in the territory over which they and their allies roamed, where neither Turkish Government nor European Powers could exercise any authority, but where nevertheless the code of Arab honour guaranteed perfect safety to the travellers who might venture to trust themselves to it.

There was no one in Palestine at the moment desirous of visiting the trans-Jordanic region. But soon afterwards I took Sir Charles O'Donnell down to the Plain of Jericho and the Dead Sea.

We performed the journey in the utmost comfort, encamping at Elisha's fountain, enjoying the evening air, the sword dance of the Arabs, the quiet night, breakfast by moonlight next morning, our ride to the River Jordan and to the Dead Sea;[1] returning to Jerusalem over the hills long after dark in the evening,—all this without any

[1] My companion compared the Dead Sea to Glendalough, in Wicklow, and quoted—

'O Glendalough, thy gloomy shore
The skylark never warbles o'er.'

But he confessed that it was of monstrous proportions to Glendalough. The story of St. Kevin and Kathleen (Moore's Melodies) can scarcely be paralleled; the nearest approach to it is that of the Empress Eudoxia following the hermit to his retreat near Jericho, at the Wady Kelt. As this lady was content

Turkish Guards, accompanied only by my own attendants and by a few Arabs, as if there were no such thing as war or fighting, or even thieving, in the world. There were only too much of all three—both near and afar off—yet they did not trouble us.

Hostilities in our neighbourhood were certainly not ended yet, for in about a week afterwards Sir Charles O'Donnell and I were riding to Bethlehem, when, half-way over the long plain (about a couple of miles from Jerusalem), there appeared at a distance to our right a body of armed peasantry marching in the direction of the city. These were Hhassaniyeh villagers (of the Othmân el Lahhâm faction), making a circuit to avoid the chance of being encountered by the enemy, *i.e.* the Mâlikiyeh peasantry, under Abu Gosh.

We kept on our way—they on theirs—but about a mile farther, and before we had reached the Well of the Magi,[1] on the road at the southern edge of the plain, not far from the Convent of Mâr Elias (half-way to Bethlehem), there came up in direct front the enemy—*i.e.* the Abu Gosh force—in a body of at least eight hundred men, half of them mounted, and carrying bright polished spears. They were formed into a main body, and had advanced guard and flanks.

to found a cell for herself on the opposite side of the Wady, she did not meet the tragical fate of poor Kathleen.

[1] According to the tradition of the country the 'Wise Men of the East,' on their way from King Herod to seek for 'the new-born King' at Bethlehem, halted to drink at this well, and in stooping towards the water they saw in it the reflection of the star which had guided them from home, but which they had lost sight of and forgotten since leaving Jerusalem. On seeing this they took fresh courage and 'rejoiced with exceeding great joy. The well is known by the Moslems under the name of *Kadisma* or *Yisbât*.

This was a joint force of wild desert Arabs—Tiyâhah, from the south-west, with Ta'amra, from the Dead Sea district, and of Mâlikiyeh peasants—officered by Ta'amra Shaikhs and the Abu Gosh leaders.

I gave them no other sign of recognition than a silent salutation, though the chiefs were familiar acquaintances. They divided to the right and left, leaving us to keep the highway.

This was a remarkable sight; and it was well that a British general who had so lately been with the army on the Danube should witness the actual condition of our province. What if the peasant warriors of the other side, whom we had but lately passed, had now been upon the road or even in view?

This little army was evacuating Bethlehem (whither we were going, and only six miles from Jerusalem), by order of the Pashà, who had insisted upon a truce; only instead of quitting in three hours, as ordered, they had remained three days assaulting Bait Jala and fighting a battle. Meanwhile Abu Gosh and his allies, about 1,000 strong, had occupied Bethlehem for about a fortnight; while Othmân occupied the opposite village of Bait Jala.

We had heard a good deal about the wild Arab force in Bethlehem, and how the flat-roofed houses had been fortified with hastily improvised battlements, and here were some of these Arabs. Even now, though no longer fighting, instead of quietly retiring southwards towards Hebron, these desert warriors were going with an air of defiance past the very walls of Jerusalem to Kuriet el Anab (on the road to Jaffa, the capital of Abu Gosh,

whose allies they were, and under whose leadership the whole force acted).

Yet with all this outward bravado the orders of the Pashà were so far obeyed. The combatants had ceased to fight, and were drawing off their forces. Strange the reverence of these people for the very name and semblance of government. What could our helpless old Pashà have done to enforce his orders had the people been minded to disregard them?

We rode on to Bethlehem. Just before entering the town we saw below us, at some distance, the 'Shepherd's Field' (the Ràwât), still full of the Tiyâhah Bedaween, amusing themselves with galloping over the green level.

The streets of the town were full of people. Arrived at the convent we had to enter by a side postern, the main gate having been closed for three days past for defence. This was not because the inmates of the convent, Greek, Latin, or Armenian, were concerned in the war, but for safety. It would not have been prudent to allow the entrance of the wild hordes, who would scarcely have departed (even without a glimpse of the rich church plate and jewels which all Orientals know to be in the treasuries of the various sanctuaries), unless after payment to them of heavy ransom. So the gate was shut, and no man permitted to enter unless with great precaution and after careful scrutiny.

We stayed some time conversing with the President, newly installed in office, and a very gentlemanly monk; then visited the sanctuaries; after which we proceeded on our way to visit the British subjects living on the farm

at Urtas, which, as before said, lies in the valley south of Bethlehem. At ten minutes beyond Bethlehem we passed an outpost of men stationed for the night, commanding the high road. The Shaikh of Urtas, Jâd Allah, happened to be in Bethlehem (very naturally, when such stirring affairs were on foot), and he accompanied us over the hills to his valley. He informed us that in the action above mentioned of the day before yesterday, fought after the signing of the truce imposed by the Pashà, Othmân el Lahhâm had lost one man and two women, besides the wounded. The allies had lost three men and two mares of Arab high race. It was calculated that above a thousand bullets must have been discharged in the space of two hours—so said our informant.

The provisions of Bethlehem had been devoured by the strangers, so that the convents had to send to Jerusalem for bread. The Meshullam family in Urtas had had no bread to eat for three days, and their market vegetables were perishing on the ground for want of being sold, as they could not be conveyed to the city or to Bethlehem as usual.

This was inconvenient, but it did not last long.

The strange thing to my companions' mind was to see this Meshullam family quietly living in the lonely valley, entirely without guards of any kind, among the few peasant natives, seemingly so secure in the very midst of village warfare and an invasion of desert Arabs. There was no pretence of any show of weapons for defence—scarce a lock to the cottage doors. Yet no man ventured to molest these British subjects or to touch so

much as a green leaf of the vegetables and fruit trees which belonged to them.

It being already late we stayed but a few minutes at Urtas and proceeded up the Valley to Solomon's Pools, that our visitor might have an opportunity of seeing them. It was sunset when our horses' heads were turned homewards.

When past Rachel's Sepulchre we saw a small extemporised fort (Shunah) alongside the high road, and heard shots and warlike cries at intervals to our left. Signal-fires were burning at Bait Sahhoor, on our right, and at Bait Safâfa, on our left. Near Mâr Elias (night had now come on) my kawwâs pointed out a spot upon the road where a dozen Hebronites had been plundered that very morning.

On approaching the gates of Jerusalem we found that several friends, who had taken alarm at our absence so late, were mounting at the gate in order to set out and look for us, and an arrangement had been made that they were to be followed after an interval by some of the Bashi-Bozuk, in case of their not speedily returning with us.

As this narrative has shown, we had on leaving home in the morning but little idea of the state of affairs throughout the range of our excursion. And yet, if I did not know what was going on, who did? Certainly not the Government.

There was an Austrian post starting next day (Sunday), so before going to bed I sat down and wrote a report to Constantinople of the present condition of the district. The chiefs of Tiyâhah Bedaween took the op-

portunity of their being thus in the neighbourhood of the capital on their own political and military affairs to pay a visit of courtesy to the Turkish Pashà.

His Excellency actually not only received them, but allowed them to smoke in his presence, and gave them presents of shawls and arms. They left his presence to go and plunder villages which they had hitherto spared!

CHAPTER XIV.

QUIET AMIDST DISTURBANCES.

Arrival of Troops—Proclamation of the War—Robberies near the City—Village Fightings—Uneasiness in Nabloos and in Jaffa—'Abderrahhmân at Hebron Troublesome—Departure of the Pashà—Petition of the Moslems—Daily Life—Safety of the English Colony and Immunity from Annoyance.

A BATTALION of Turkish troops arrived on the very next day (Sunday, Oct. 23), to garrison the city. It consisted of six companies, and was commanded by a Bin-Bashi, or Major. We had heard a fortnight before that the invalids of the regiment had landed at Jaffa, while the others were marching down from Aleppo. Though glad enough to hear of any military occupation of the city, we were nevertheless dissatisfied at this particular corps being destined for us, seeing that it was the one which had disgraced itself by aiding in the fanatic massacre of Christians at Aleppo, a few years before.[1] This circumstance added new force to the sinister forebodings of the poor frightened native Christians, who had never ceased to expect a sudden rising of the Moslems and a massacre at least as soon as war should be announced.

However, we had once more soldiers in the barracks

[1] These soldiers gave us very little trouble; and, as the narrative shows, there never was a rising of the Moslems against the Christians. One or two cases of misconduct on the part of private soldiers received prompt punishment on appeal being made to the Commandant for redress.

and sentinels at the gates, and it was to be hoped there would now be some control exercised over the peasantry; that the Bedaween would retire from the mountains into their own deserts. It was wonderful that all had hitherto gone off so quietly in the city. Of late the bazaars and streets of Jerusalem had been thronged on Fridays, which, being both market and mosque prayer day, brings Moslems in from all the country round.

The crowds had consisted not merely of armed peasantry, who it might be hoped would be peaceable, as being pretty well accustomed to intercourse with their Christian fellow-countrymen, but there was moreover the unwonted spectacle to be seen of swarms of desert men, with spear and gun, pushing their way through the streets, casting longing eyes at the fruits and the sweets and the wares exposed for sale. There was no small risk that some slight accident might provoke a quarrel with some of these haughty, quick-tempered gentry; and where then would the fray have ended?

We were not sorry to see sentinels once more guarding the city gates, and to observe that no more Bedawy Arabs came crowding into the narrow streets.

On October 25th news came to us of proclamation of war having been actually made by the Turkish authorities in Bayroot, and that all Russian persons (and property), till their departure, were placed under the Austrian Consulates throughout the country.

Next day the proclamation was made in our streets, together with an exhortation to all to keep the peace at home. Nothing surprised me more than the silence, the Oriental gravity, with which the proclamation was re-

ceived by the populace. This probably arose from the feeling that the actual conflict was likely to be kept at some distance, and that the two greatest Powers of those represented at Jerusalem were heartily with the Sultan. The presence of the newly-arrived troops seemed to have some moral effect. The proclamation had been purposely delayed until their arrival. No disorders were attempted, and so far well.

Two days later, on the 28th, being Friday (the Moslem Sabbath or festival day of the week), the official Firmân declaring war was read in Council at the Seraglio previous to public prayers in the Hharâm-esh-Shereef, or Noble Sanctuary. It was understood that this document had been drawn up with a particular view to compose the minds of native Christians of the Greek rite, and in order to commend them to the honourable protection of all faithful Moslems, as loyal subjects. A salute of twenty-one guns was then fired from the Castle.

The idea was circulated among the people that the salute was made on account of a Firmân having arrived to say that the Sultan's army had taken a number of castles in the Danubian provinces; that is to say, on account of victory gained by their army over the enemy. This idea was carried north, south, east, and west as far as the thunder of the artillery had echoed among the mountains and valleys, and fell upon the quick ears of the peasantry, or Bedawy Arabs, telling them that the Fortress City was in the hands of the Great Padishah.

It was commonly said that the Mufti and the Shaikh of Nebi Daood (chief of the guardians of David's Tomb)

were eagerly employed in astrological studies, inquiring as to the coming events according to planetary influences, etc., at the moment of war being proclaimed.

After the public prayers I visited our new military commander, the Bin-Bashi, and found him to be a more energetic sort of man than we had been accustomed to; not one of those who dawdle about the streets when the sun is not too hot, with shoes down at heel, followed by corporals or privates, one bearing the burden of his pipe, another that of his tobacco-bag.

This man's well-worn uniform, and the faded ribbon from which hung two gold medals, bespoke him to be a working man who had seen some true service.

The arrival of the troops certainly had a good effect, restoring some measure of confidence within the city and some feeling among the peasantry that the Sublime Government was not a mere name. That order had not yet been established was made sufficiently clear by the incidents of the very next few days.

On October 31st, after a long day's writing, I was leaving the city gate for our evening ride, when a person stepped forward from a group near the little Customs office, and drew my attention to a young man who had been the interpreter of the Russian Archimandrite. I was told that he had been not long before on that day robbed and stripped by three peasants in open daylight, just below, at the large upper Pool of Mamilla, within sight and hearing of townspeople, and had to walk nearly stark-naked up to the city gate, where some clothes were provided for him. The same day there had also been a robbery of a native traveller from Damascus by four horsemen on the

Jaffa road, at no greater distance from Jerusalem than the other.

Continuing my ride (my children were with me) over the Maidân, or public place and promenade, now occupied by the great Russian buildings, I observed that most of our people were out also. The Prussian pastor, Mr. Valentiner, was demonstrating to a friend his interesting theory (set forth in papers read at our Literary Society) as to the site of the Tower of Hippicus. Others were enjoying the bright air and sunshine in various ways, some mounted, some on foot; children running about. We had lately had an arrival from Europe of a missionary clergyman and his wife, with a young English lady-assistant for Miss Cooper's Jewish school. Our community was increasing in numbers, and here was now almost everybody belonging to our congregation, English, German, and others.

As the sun was setting all our people walked or rode in at the Jaffa gate. I was coming in last, when a poor man (Oriental) with a monkey and a drum, and driving a donkey, came up to my kawwâs, bursting into tears and wringing his hands, telling me that twenty peasants had just before fallen upon himself and his son, whom they shot dead, and made off with all the asses that had been entrusted to his care, except the one which we saw.

On hearing this, and seeing the two English ladies who were mistresses in the Bishop's school sauntering in the open fields by twilight, I followed them, advising them not to delay after sunset, but return to the city.

In town I sent word at once to the military commander, calling on him to take whatever steps might be

necessary.[1] It was clear that something must be done for protection of people and for the repression of crime. I repaired early in the next day to our poor old Pashà to represent the outrages of yesterday and the growing disorders, and was present by his desire at an examination of the cases. That of the Russian dragoman being stripped was not satisfactory; there was something in it which needed explanation. On being asked whether he had laid his complaint before the Austrian Consul he said it was not worth while to do so! And yet the affairs of the Russians were left in charge of the Austrian Consul. We were not satisfied with the man's story.

About noon fifteen more robberies were reported to me as having occurred within an hour, particularly one of some Algerine Jews (French subjects), on their way from Jaffa, who were plundered at the village of Kalôneh. When they arrived within sight of Jerusalem they met the son of Hhaj Mustafa Abu Gosh. Now, Abu Gosh was not only the ruling chief of that district, but was actually salaried by the Turkish Government in order to ensure the Jaffa road being kept safe. (He received about 500*l.* a year for this purpose.)

[1] The record of this day's events closes with the mention of our being obliged to sit up very late that night on account of some work which I was obliged to finish; my husband meanwhile reading to me a part of Plato's 'Phædon' in English, and conversing over the views which Socrates had about the world to come.

It is worth mentioning, as showing the kind of recreation which refreshed him most after the cares and anxieties of the day. Up early every morning, the first hour or two was devoted to his Hebrew and Arabic and Turkish Bible. The day was one of incessant labour, with often scarcely time for even a hurried meal, or, as on this day, a few minutes for fresh air and exercise. Many nights were taken up even till daydawn with official writing; but sometimes, he was sufficiently at leisure to get some reading as above-mentioned.—Editor's Note.

The poor people having related their calamity to the young Abu Gosh, he promised to recover what they had lost for a douceur of 400 piastres. This sum they gave him, and he rode off laughing at their simplicity. Again I visited the Pashà, reminding him that the high road must be kept safe, and represented that Hhaj Mustafa Abu Gosh should be at once sent for and brought into town to answer for his conduct; that this should be done by sending royal troops to fetch him if necessary. Well, promises were made that Abu Gosh should be in town next day. The Pashà did have a letter written to the offender asking him to come and visit him on the morrow. And what next? A young nephew appeared instead, and he was told orally that the chief 'ought to chastise the offending villages alongside the road and have the losses restored to the poor travellers.'

His Excellency the Pashà who had pronounced this decision then implored my official dragoman to leave, for that he, being eighty years old, had been sitting eight hours in council on business of this kind. Abu Gosh did not appear, neither was he compelled to appear.

Meanwhile our Bishop had sent to the Consulate to represent that persecutions had been stirred up by the Greeks in Nabloos. The Moslems had been incited to annoy and vex the native Protestants by personal insults and by illegal augmentation of taxes. I despatched my chief dragoman to Nabloos to inquire and take necessary measures. We succeeded in getting the needful orders from the Pashà in time for him to leave the city before the gates closed. He was to sleep in a cottage outside the city, so as to be ready to start by

daybreak next morning. After five days' absence at Nabloos my dragoman returned with so serious an account that it was necessary for me to go and lay the case personally before the Pashà. The poor old man was very ill, and seemed hardly to understand what was being said, and he was compelled to leave us.

The distresses of the Nabloos Protestants not being relieved, I soon had to direct the Vice-Consul of Caifa to repair thither to make inquiries and exercise moral suasion on their behalf. This Nabloos is notoriously one of the most turbulent and fanatical places in Syria. I felt sure that the very presence of an English official would have some beneficial effect, and so it really turned out, for in a very short time the schools were again attended and public worship resumed. The school-room (used also for a chapel on Sundays) and its furniture were the property of the Church Missionary Society, in London, and therefore entitled to protection by the Consulate from being injured by any mob or otherwise.

The disturbances in the Hhassaniyeh villages south-west were meanwhile still rife, and at last the French Consul succeeded in stirring up the Pashà to do something. The result of this was that four companies of infantry, with some Bashi-Bozuk and the two field-pieces, left the city for the village of Wellajeh, in the heart of the south-west district, where fighting had so long been going on.

I went a few days later to inspect the district, and on crossing over from St. Philip's fountain[1] to Wellajeh I

[1] The place, according to Latin and Armenian traditions, of the baptism of the Ethiopian treasurer.

found that village was deserted, except that people were removing as much as possible of the doors and rafters of their houses, which were still smouldering and smoking from the fires that had been lighted to destroy them.

My wife and I watched the work of destruction for some time, and then went (accompanied, of course, by my kawwâs) over the hills, by the ruggedest of tracks, to Ain Karem, where we rested in the ruined Church of Zachariah, and had refreshments brought from the village and listened to another account of the affairs of the district. We got back to the city just before gate-shutting.

The next incident, a couple of days later, was that a wedding party of peasant women were robbed of their silver ornaments at Mar Girgis, a very small remnant of a Greek convent, opposite to and almost within gunshot of the Jaffa gate, by peasants who had crept behind the wall of the mulberry plantation there. To molest women at all is considered so heinous an offence that this incident showed to what lengths the faction rivalries and fightings were leading the people. However, one of the thieves was caught, and was thrashed all the way down to the Seraglio by a stout negro.

The French Consul sent his *cancellière*, M. Lequeux, to inform me of a riot at Jaffa, which town was still destitute of any garrison. Some of the Moslems had broken into and plundered many houses of the Christians and Jews, and the French Consul desired to know if I would, as well as himself, apply to the Pashà to send

some infantry down from the Castle in Jerusalem to that important town. This we both did in form.

The next disturbances were at Beereh, on the north road, about three hours from Jerusalem, that place being assailed by Abu Gosh and by his ally (at present), Ibn Simhhân, and the Jericho Arabs.

We in Jerusalem were more concerned in what was going on at Hebron. Here the Governor, 'Abderrahhmân, that old disturber of the peace, took advantage of the weakness of the Government and of the infirmities of the Pashà. He began to levy *avanias* (illegal exactions) not only on the Jews (to him a never-ceasing source of gain), but likewise upon the Mohammedan inhabitants of the town and district. The latter kept me informed of his tyrannies with a little more courage than the Jews could muster, they being deterred by fright from even writing to me, or from coming to Jerusalem, lest the spies about them should have anything to report to the tyrant.[1] He actually kept his name on the Jewish books containing the list of poor entitled to relief from the charitable funds, and he used to send for payment of his 'share' three days before the time when it was due.

The disorders at last rose to such a pitch that the inhabitants of the south-western district, in the Philistine Plain, and of Gaza addressed a petition to His Excellency Wamek Pashà, Governor-General of Syria in Bayroot. The petitioners were, of course, Moslems, and they set forth the wrongs and grievances endured by the unfor-

[1] Id ipsum juventes quod timuissent.—TACITUS.

tunate people within the Jerusalem Pashàlic governed by Hhâfiz Pashà.

The very rusticity of the style and the names given in it give character to this document, which is an uncommonly curious one. I append it in full.

In it are set forth the causes of the unwonted disturbances of the past season.

Our old Pashà, feeble and infirm as he was, and personally very much to be pitied for having the burden and charge of office to support at his great age, and in ill-health, had been governing the country by means of the well-known principle in Turkish rule already described, 'Divide et impera.' Without troops, without strength of any kind, how else was he to govern the country at all?

There is one great advantage to the rulers themselves in carrying out this principle, especially if they are in need of money or of any other good: both parties will bid for favour and countenance—both will bid and bribe for influence that may turn the scale against the rival, whether it be suitor at law, district chief, foreign government, or rival church.

Hhâfiz Pashà, moreover, being too old to be capable of any personal exertion, was completely in the hands of a knot of his own creatures—his treasurer, his secretary, &c.—who are repeatedly mentioned in the petition here given. These were hangers-on who had come into the country with him, and who had still their fortunes to make, still their own way to push upwards to office and its opportunities for golden harvests.

They found a congenial character in the man whom we have already described, Khaleel Aga er-Ressâs, chief

of the police. This man was the terror of the city and of the country. He knew everybody and everybody knew him. We find him mentioned in the petition as having stirred up dissensions among the peasant factions, not only in the districts under Abu Gosh and Othman el Lahhâm, of which so much has been said in the foregoing narrative, but also between the members of the Simhhân family, on the north-west, and at Bait Jibreen, on the edge of the Philistine country. No more fitting tool could have been found than this Khaleel Aga er-Ressâs, if mischief was to be stirred up and money extracted from the people all round. But who employed him?

Hence the fightings north, south, east, and west of us, and the ugly list of so many sums of piastres delivered to the Pashà's agents.

Hence also the incursions of the wild Arabs—invited by both sides as allies—encouraged by the 'treasurer' of the Pashà; fed, entertained, given new garments, and significantly styled 'My Arabs.' Can anything be more piteous than the passage in which the poor victims of spoliation tell the Governor-General that they 'cannot tell the meaning of this friendship' between the Pashà's treasurer and the wild folk?—'what he has received from them or what he has given them we cannot tell.' It is easy to guess what he must have received; and as for what he gave, licence to plunder the peasantry was all they desired, and that they got, instead of stern repression within their desert territory.

We find the chief of police employed to drive away and silence the complainants from Nabloos, who, when they came 600 in number to represent the gross in-

justice they had suffered, found that their oppressor had been beforehand with them, and had by bribes ensured that they should be refused a hearing. In their exasperation and despair some of them climbed the minarets whence the hours for prayer are announced by the Muezzin, and there they cried aloud and proclaimed over the city the oppression under which they, true Moslem subjects of the Sultan, now suffered, till Hhâfiz Pashà sent the chief of the police to beat them and drive them away from the city, saying, 'You are all in the wrong!'

As for the history of the additional irregular horse raised by orders of the Governor-General, as some sort of military force for protection of the country—the way in which the commands of companies of forty or fifty were sold to the highest bidder, and the pay of the men was kept back to be spent in bribes—all this was not new. Yet never were bribery and corruption of every kind so rampant, so shameless as in the days of Hhâfiz Pashà.

Unhappy old Hhâfiz Pashà at last left us for good—certainly for our good—on December 17, 1853, carried down in a palanquin to Jaffa, on his way to Constantinople. He left us under a salvo of sixteen guns from the Castle. During the operation of firing one of the artillerymen had his arm shot off, through the ignorance of his comrade about stopping the vent after the gun had been discharged and before reloading.

This was the last calamity that occurred at Jerusalem under his Excellency the Musheer Hhâfiz Pashà.

Translation of Petition to H.E. Wamek Pashà Wali of Saida, &c.

EXCELLENCY,

We, your petitioners, beg to bring to your Excellency's notice the following circumstances.

When your Excellency first honoured our country with your illustrious presence, Jerusalem and its dependencies were in perfect rest and tranquillity, by reason of the due execution of justice, which was always attended to for the benefit of the exalted Government.

We wish to draw your Excellency's attention to the troubles which are now existing amongst all the subjects of His Majesty the Padishah.

The villages of Gaza are utterly ruined on account of the plundering of the Arabs, and no one has been able to keep them back from doing so. The reason is as follows:—

By means of Adham Effendi, the treasurer of H.E. Hhâfiz Pashà, these Arabs, whether Shaikhs or even mere shepherds, frequently visit his Excellency, who receives them with perfect freedom, and gives them entire liberty to be seated in his presence; pipes and coffee are served to every one of them, besides that during their stay he provides them with food, and before their departure he makes them presents of new dresses.

Having such indulgences, no sooner do they come to the villages above mentioned than plundering ensues; and if any of the Bashi-Bozuk officers go [*i.e.* are sent by Government] to prevent such bad proceedings, they take no heed [of them], and that for the above reason.

The cause of all these things is Adham Effendi, who styles them 'My Arabs.' We cannot tell the meaning of this friendship; what he has received from them or what he has given them we cannot tell.

We are sure that the losses and damages which have occurred to the villages of Gaza within the last two years—*i.e.* within the appointment of H.E. Hhâfiz Pashà to this country—

amounts to ten thousand purses,[1] and this we are ready to show when your Excellency's command shall arrive summoning us to appear before your Excellency. If your Excellency desires it, inquiries to this effect may be made from Mustafa Bek es-Saeed.

Now, your Excellency being Musheer in these lands in order to distinguish right from wrong, God forbid that your slaves should have to suffer hardships and troubles, because, as we have already mentioned, on your first arrival we were in perfect ease and safety, as your Excellency well knows.

Your petitioners now wish to bring to notice the affairs of the Jerusalem district.

Moosa el Ahhmad has been made by the Mejlis [Council] to pay down 90,000 piastres.

Ibrahim Abd er-Rezek and Jehhya el Ma'aroof have both paid 10,000 piastres.

Also after the arrival of the Mushirial order to Hhâfiz Pashà to replace the Sadek family in their villages near Nabloos, Hashem Effendi, the secretary of Hhâfiz Pashà, delayed to obey till he had received from them 40,000 piastres, after which, on Sunday last, they were reinstated by Mustafa Aga the Bosnian, a well-known and able officer of the Bashi-Bozuk soldiery.

No doubt it has reached your Excellency's knowledge that it was Kasem el Ahhmad who devastated the country of Sadek and banished that family from it, after which, in order to silence the members of the Mejlis [Council] and Hashem Effendi, he sent 100,000 piastres through Khaleel Effendi el Afeefi. The Sadek people, 600 in number, came to Jerusalem to make their complaint, but no one would hear them; then they felt obliged to go up to the highest minaret in the city and cry out, 'Persecuted! persecuted!' on which H. E. Hhâfiz Pashà ordered Khaleel er-Ressâs, the Chief of the Police, to beat them, and drive them away from the city—saying, 'You are all in the wrong!'

Consider and behold, then, O Excellency, this persecution which is a reproach on the Sublime Porte, which desires only

[1] Equal to 45,000*l*. 100 piastres were equal to nearly 1*l*. sterling.

justice, and to distinguish between the persecutor and the persecuted.

As for Hhussain Ibm Simhhân, when he arrived here bearing your Excellency's command to H. E. Hhâfiz Pashà, the Divan Effendi asked of him 10,000 piastres and took them. After that he sowed dissensions between him and his cousin 'Abdu 'l Lateef, by means of Khaleel er-Ressâs [Chief of the Police].

Up to this moment we have no peace reigning among them, but they have been killing the factions on each side and plundering each other. Several times they have both been to H. E. Hhâfiz Pashà. God preserve him, and increase the like unto him for making a settlement between them! but he did not know how.

As for Abu Gosh and Othmân el Lahhâm, until now they have keen killing on each side; about thirty have been killed, for the reason that H. E. Hhâfiz Pashà displaced the Shaikh of 'Ain Karem, but his Divân Effendi wished to replace him for a consideration of 2,500 piastres, *i.e.*, 1,500 for himself, and 1,000 to Khaleel er-Ressâs. This is the foundation of the hostilities between Abu Gosh and Othmân el Lahhâm: by these means villages have been ruined, property plundered, and the high roads become unsafe, for robberies are committed even beneath the walls of Jerusalem. Moreover, between the village of Latroon and Kubâb, on the Jaffa road, forty Jews and Christians have been robbed, yet H. E. Hhâfiz Pashà has done absolutely nothing.

As for Muslehh el Azizi [Shaikh of Bait Jibreen], Adham Effendi and Khaleel er-Ressâs have sown dissensions between him and his cousin Neâjeh, so that from the latter they accepted a horse and 3,000 piastres; the horse is still with Adham Effendi.

A short time since an order came from your Excellency that 200 additional horses should be added to the irregular soldiery for protection of the country.

By the Eternal God and by your blessed head, Hashem

Effendi and Adham Effendi, by means of Khaleel er-Ressâs, have sold the appointments to them for money!

A command of fifty they gave to Abu Hhawaij, for which they received 300 gazis (a gold coin worth about 4*s.*): his son by night delivered them to Divân Effendi in his house. Ismail Aga Abu Tabanjah had given him 50 horsemen for 250 gazis, which were delivered to Divân Effendi, and Ahhmed Aga Berbar had allotted to him 50 horsemen, for which he paid down 300 gazis to Adham Effendi the treasurer.

Hhussain Aga the ex-governor of Ramlah has plundered that district; his own share amounted to 50,000 piastres. If Your Excellency desires to have particulars of this, enquiries may be made of Hhasan Effendi 'Abdu'l-Hadi, living in Ramlah.

Again all the briberies which the officers of the Bashi-Bozuk have made to the above-mentioned individuals have been deducted from the pay of their poor soldiers. When enquiries will be made respecting this and the officers deny it, then the soldiers will be ready to declare and prove it.

And now, if Your Excellency desire the complete rest and tranquillity of His Majesty's subjects, let it please you to send an order summoning the following persons before Your Excellency:—

Mustafa Aga Kara Bairakdâr.
Mustafa Aga the Bosnian.
Durweesh Aga.
Moosa el Ahhmad, ibn es Sadek.
Ibrahim 'Abd er Rezâk of Abu Zaid.
Hhusain es Simhhân.
'Abdhu'l-Lateef es-Simhhân.
Mustafa Abu Gosh.
'Othmân el Lahhâm.
Muslehh el Azizi.
Odeh Ibn Ateeyeh.
Shaikh Ayâsh el Wahhad.
And these slaves of your Government,[1] when they appear in

[1] The title of a Musheer is 'Your Government.'

the noble Divân [Council] of your Excellency, will declare the truth doubly over and above what is here mentioned.

And now whereas the Sublime Government (may God establish the throne of her[1] successors to the end of the world!) desires only justice, we have no means of redress or helper for the truth but in her officers and noble Wazeers, particularly your merciful Government who cannot desire this persecution.

Have mercy on those who are upon earth, so that those in heaven may have mercy on you; give us the hand of help and deliver us!

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The sketch which this narrative gives of the condition of the Holy Land, and more especially of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, would scarcely be complete without some notice of the daily life we led, and which my husband had omitted, doubtless on the ground that this was not intended to be a personal history of himself or even of his own official life. Yet this daily life was influenced by the state of things around us, and was not without its own influence in return upon the people among whom we lived. Allusion has already been made to the absolute immunity from annoyance which the English colony enjoyed. Some idea has been given incidentally of the freedom which was enjoyed—of the daily walks and rides, the going and coming, and business carried on, as if there were no disturbances in the country.

The journals written at the time are full of allusions to these little incidents—to the rambles in the fields 'gathering purple crocuses,' or other flowers—to the rides and walks over the Bethlehem plain—to the spoils brought in from shooting expeditions—to the strolls outside the gates and in the Western valley just before sunset—to the early morning walks before breakfast—and in all these the young children took their full share.

All these rides and walks, and still longer excursions in the Southern district, were made in perfect safety and comfort, no

[1] 'Government' is a feminine noun in Arabic.

man so much as uttering one uncivil expression by the wayside, or seeking to molest our party on the homeward road after dark in the evening.

Not even when the Consul was riding quite alone, as he sometimes was obliged to do, if business required his Kawwâses to be sent elsewhere—not even then was there anything but the utmost civility and respect shown by all whom he met.

In the city there was at this time a good deal of sociable intercourse among the European residents, and the Journal contains frequent mention of the interchange of friendly visits, as also of evening gatherings at the Consulate and the houses of the other Europeans, besides meetings for the purpose of studying Hebrew, Arabic, German, and modern Greek; also for the practice of music for our Church services, and attendance at Bible readings in the Bishop's house, anniversary celebrations at the schools, or mission institutions, or the house of the Rev. J. Nicolayson.

The meetings of the Jerusalem Literary Society were held weekly at the Consulate for discussion of all topics that could serve to illustrate Biblical history or topography, or natural history.

At the opening meeting in the spring of this year there had been fifty persons invited, and among those who actually attended were three Prussians, two Danes, one Swede, one Bavarian, besides travellers, and now the weekly meetings were resumed for the winter season, and afforded opportunities for pleasant intercourse and exchange of ideas upon the varied subjects of interest connected with the Bible and with the Holy Land.

Friendly intercourse was also kept up with the chiefs of the various religious institutions, the Latin, Greek, and Armenian Patriarchs, with the convents, with the Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian communities, and with the Jewish Rabbis.

The Greek printing press was now at work in the Convent of St. Michael, and the family who were in charge were an interesting addition to the society in Jerusalem. Their intelligence and courteous manner made a visit to the printing works a most pleasant relaxation. It was curious to visit this family

and to listen to the parents conversing in mellifluent Greek with their sons and daughters, calling them by such names as Leonidas, Themistocles, and Cleopatra. One could not help hoping that the day might be near at hand when books of general literature, for old and young, might issue from this press as well as religious works.

The English printing press had been for many years in the possession of the Jewish Mission, a gift from some benefactor to the Holy City. Possibly the fact that the Greek Convent had set theirs to work might prove to our own people an incentive to setting Jewish Converts to work in similar fashion, at least we hoped this might be one good result in store.

To return to our narrative and to the subject of the church and the various services carried on regularly at the period to which this history refers, and of which the Journals written at the time contain so many interesting details.

Christians of all the various churches were constantly in the habit of coming to watch, even though they might not be able to understand, what was going on. The heartiness of the responses, and the singing of the whole congregration always took them by surprise. Great interest was expressed in the Episcopal form of our Church, and in our Liturgy. One zealous English member of our congregation chose a seat near the door of the church, where he might be at hand to give a copy of the Prayer-book in the proper Eastern or Western tongue, to whoever looked likely to be able to read it, and for this purpose he had a pile of books in various languages ready by his side. They were always gratefully received, and sometimes read, not only during the prayers, but during the sermon also. Not only Christians, but Turkish soldiers have sometimes sat there reading our Arabic Prayer-book, if they happened to understand that language.

When their local dissensions and their grievances against the Turkish authorities brought some of the principal native Moslems from Nabloos to Jerusalem, several parties of them visited our church, and expressed their satisfaction at finding in it neither pictures nor images. Indeed they strongly

denied that it could be a 'Church' (Keneeseh), and said it was a Mesjid, 'place of worship,' and even of 'true worship.' They approved of the Ten Commandments and of the Lord's Prayer (inscribed in Hebrew) at the Communion Table. Perhaps it was from a motive of politeness that they declined to hear (when the offer was made to them) the contents of the other tablet, namely the Apostles' Creed.

The Christmas services this year in our Church were peculiarly interesting. First, there was the early Arabic service fully attended. Then followed the 10 o'clock English service, in the course of which was celebrated the baptism of a Sephardi Jewess, the married daughter of one of the converts; this was conducted in the Judæo-Spanish.

The Holy Communion was attended by many, and five languages were used for the various communicants, *i.e.* English, German, Judæo-Spanish, Arabic, and Hebrew. Not a few converted Israelites were gathered together for this highest act of Christian worship, and among the others we saw led up the aisle a Christian Bethlehemite named Yusuf, a very old man, quite blind and white-bearded. We afterwards learned that this poor man, for such he was, remembered the circumstance of Sir Sidney Smith, with his marines planting the British flag over the Convent at Bethlehem in protection of the Christians at the time of the invasion by the French under Napoleon Buonaparte.

At the early Hebrew service of the two following days, the Ante-communion service was read as well as the morning prayers, and the converts sang in Hebrew the anthem, 'For unto us a Son is born,' to music composed by the lady who played the organ (who is since dead), and whom we had heard long before daylight (the Consulate house adjoined the church) practising the music.

I may perhaps be excused if I add here one or two extracts from Journals describing my husband's Sunday afternoon walks in the neighbourhood of the Holy City with our little son of six years.

'Sunday afternoon—walked out with A— down the slope

of Zion towards Siloam. On the way we rested on the root of an olive-tree, and while he was picking flowers of the Star of Bethlehem, I read to him out of my very little New Testament the second chapter of Matthew. Thence we went to the Pool of Siloam, where I explained that it was formerly a beautiful place in our Lord's time; thence descending towards Beer Eyoob, and ascending near to Aceldama, we sat down at the portal of a magnificent sepulchre, and I read to him the ninth chapter of John about the pool of Siloam.

'What a wonderful collection of interesting historical spots are within a few hundred yards around, such as Siloam, the King's gardens, Zion, Tophet, En Rogel, Aceldama, the Valley of Hinnom, with the Temple walls looking down upon us! Thence we sauntered up the Valley of Hinnom alongside of the rocks, gathering abundance of cyclamen, grape-hyacinth, marigold, and pimpernel!'

Again the following 'Sunday afternoon I walked with my son to the Talibiyeh, where we sat in the shade of the house and read (verse about) the most of John iv.'

And again on a following Sunday 'I took A— for his usual walk. We went to the Tâlibiyeh, and sat down near our door, looking over towards our Protestant burying-ground and the road to Bethany, and we read over the eleventh chapter of John, a subject consonant with the prospect, and with the recent occurrence of death (a death had occurred very suddenly, and under painful circumstances), though, of course, the joyful resurrection is the idea which most engaged the child's attention.'

Can any greater contrast be imagined than the peaceful scenes here described, and the confusion and disorders among the native population and in the machinery of government; between the security and repose of these quiet Sunday hours out in the open country, and the fightings among the peasantry; the insecurity from robbery on the high roads up to the very gates of the city to which other people were exposed, and confidence, so well justified in the safety which the goodwill of the people secured for us?

CHAPTER XV.

THE JERUSALEM DISTRICT WITHOUT A PASHA.

Turkish diplomacy in ruling—Condition of Nabloos and North Palestine—Incivility of the Military Commandant and of the Kadi checked—'Akeeli Aga and his career—Mission of the Consular Kawwâs—Emir-Sa'ad ed Deen Shehâbi of Hhasbeya visits Constantinople against his will, and learns a lesson there.

'MA FEE HHUKUM'—there is no government; had been the complaint of the natives during many months past; for some time the country had been without troops, and now, from December 17, 1853, to the 16th of the ensuing March, 1854, Jerusalem and the territory thereto belonging were without any Pashà. The administration of government was conducted by a Commission of the Kâdi (Judge), the Mufti and the Nakeeb el Ashrâf.

It was commonly said in Jerusalem at that time that of the rulers of the district one was blind, another lame and in extreme old age, while the third was stone deaf.

There was besides a military commander, with his infantry in the barracks, but the Commission had no control over him, for his immediate superior was the Commander-in-Chief (Seriasker) in Damascus, and the only public service he could render, indeed all that the Turkish Government required of him, was to stay in his place, to hold a few parades on the public Maidân, and to have the brass band perform its screeching duty morning and

evening, that is to say, to let himself and his troops be seen and heard.

Even this meagre routine was not without considerable effect in so conservative a country. Both townsmen and peasantry stood in awe of the military presence, and the word *Dowleh*, or 'government,' still preserved its ascendancy as it were by magic. The loyalty of the people to their sovereign was undoubted. While surrounded by elements of discord, it was to us ever a matter of surprise how any degree of cohesion was maintained throughout the country, and yet it was maintained.

We speak here not only of this actual interregnum while the Pashalic was held in commission, but of the normal condition of the Turkish rule at all times, and which seems to bear a curious similarity to that of the Chinese. The euphemism of Turkish phraseology expresses the process of governing by a few fixed terms denoting the skilful application of certain principles. *Dostâneh* (friendly) is the word by which the conduct of a Pashà towards foreign Consuls should be governed, and *bendeniz* (your servant) the term employed in addressing them, these being in effect equivalent to our usage in ending letters to each other by the phrase 'your humble and obedient servant.'

For ruling native subjects, the guiding word is *'Akilâneh* (skilfully), while the brutal and often sanguinary conflicts among the peasantry are described by no fiercer term than *na-saz-lik* (impropriety); the correction of the same, to be performed in a peaceful mode, is called the *tarteeb* (setting to rights). *Voormak* (to strike, a word implying a resort to force) is a word but rarely pronounced, and

then only in a subdued voice. These are specimens of the *tatlu dil*, the 'sweet tongue,' of Turkish rulers. The *tarteeb* which accompanies it is mainly based upon the old Roman principle (quoted before) of 'divide and rule,' for it is essentially Turkish to have no district, or village, or even family, if possible, without some dissensions or rivalry which may be alternately played off against each other, and thus ruled without force.

The most important and widely-spread division of the population of South Palestine is that according to which they are all ranged under either the 'Kais' or the Yemeni factions, which have existed at least from the earliest era of Mohammedanism. (See *ante*, p. 226.) The villages of the peasantry are, as has appeared in this history, associated into clannish groups, such as the Hhassanîyeh, the Malikîyeh, and others—a state of things implying external hostilities as well as internal bonds of union; but some villages even were separated into two rival streets, of which Malhha (the village mentioned before in our neighbourhood, South-West) was an example.

The Ottoman Government being at that time unable to furnish Turkish governors, of however mean capacity or rank, to govern towns and districts, fomented jealousies and competitions for obtaining the Shaikh-ship between the leading families of a place, and then the policy was pursued of alternately raising and depressing the rivals.

Take, for example, the town of Bethlehem. In the days of Egyptian rule under Ibrahim Pashà the Mohammedan population of that town was exterminated, all but a few who were exiled. On the restoration of the

Sultan's supremacy the survivors came back to the town and were allowed to multiply, but they were carefully 'factionized' into two old-standing parties of the Fawâgri, as these Moslems are called, each party being joined by some of the shopkeepers. These factions often fought in the streets, and even summoned distant allies to their aid. As for the Christians of Bethlehem—Greek, Latin, and Armenian—alas! who has not heard of the dissensions among them, instead of 'peace on earth, goodwill among men'?

In Jerusalem, with the military force and a staff of Government officials, whether Turks or natives (chosen from among the Arab noblesse or Effendis), external order was pretty well preserved. Faction fights among the Moslem inhabitants were entirely unknown. When public order was disturbed, and it was only very rarely disturbed, it was quickly restored. Even at the Holy Sepulchre Church the fights among the Christians were speedily quelled. But in both religious and in secular matters, the Turks had full scope for playing off the several convents and communities against their rival convents and communities.

As for the Jews, although among themselves there was no lack of sectional antipathies, yet it lay not much within the scope of Turkish 'fasâd' (the art of sowing dissension); indeed, it would have taken them too much trouble to comprehend the springs of Jewish enmities; these lay out of their reach.

But the sweetest morsel of Osmanli performance was what went to weakening that which they most disliked —European influence in the East.

This they tried to do in Jerusalem by setting the Consuls against each other (though in this they did not much succeed), while maintaining all the time the perfection of outward politeness to them all, and all diplomatic formalities and etiquettes in demeanour, and in written correspondence; but of the latter they thought the less the better, and avoided committing themselves to it by every possible means.

In these arts of disintegration Turkish officials excelled—'Hæ tibi erunt artes'—not by use of strength or vigour. But these arts are the resource of feebleness, however skilfully practised; and that they are often practised with consummate skill no one who has watched Turkish diplomacy on a large or a small scale can deny. Their effects are deleterious in withering public prosperity by destroying mutual confidence, and they blast all sentiment approaching to patriotism for the sake of obtaining temporary security to the governing race.

We have hitherto dwelt more upon the condition of Southern Palestine. But in the central district—that of Jebel Nabloos (Samaria)—it has been seen that affairs were in much the same condition. There was always chronic hostility subsisting, and systematically fomented by the Turks, between the families of Tokân, backed by the Jerâr, which formed the antique Conservative body, and that of Abdu'l Hâdi with other allies, Liberals in the fashion then understood at Constantinople—*i.e.* by way of opposition to their rivals of the old school. The Turkish visible Government at this time in the Nabloos district was barely a mere scarecrow with scarce any terrors. There was just power enough for the levying of

the taxes, and as for the rival factions, so injurious to the well-being of the peasantry, they were but as two scales, now up, now down, as the beam of the balance within the Seraglio at Jerusalem was sloped either way by means of bribery, or as the factions themselves were affected by the results of their sanguinary fightings.

The territory of the Sanjak of Jerusalem ended northwards at Jeneen, on the verge of the plain of Esdraelon. North of this the district of ancient Galilee was squeezed into submissive quietude by Bedaween forays from the East and the few regular cavalry (Sowâra), commonly at the fortress of Acre to the West, though even here there were petty rivalries kept up among the villages, and 'Akeeli Aga, the 'Free lance,' of whom more presently, held a sort of roving commission.

Further North the Belâd Beshâra was tolerably at rest under Tibneen, but an old grudge still rankled and was kept alive in the heart of the rival chiefs at Bint el Jebail.

Thus Turkish policy was carried out all over the land at little cost, or rather great was the gain to the rulers, for faction bribed against faction, chief against chief. The system was also in operation in the Lebanon. Who has not heard of the feuds between the Maronites and the Druses, of the rivalries between this and that Druse clan, this and that Maronite party? And even among the Desert tribes the same tactics were always more or less available, more or less successful in maintaining Turkish rule without rulers, and government at the expense of the governed.

Towards the end of 1853 the Turkomans—a consider-

able body of whom live as nomades in the north, and are often to be seen encamped on the plain of Esdraelon—were ravaging the district south of Carmel, between the village of Um el Fahhm and Tantoora on the sea-coast.

Further north, in Acre, I was informed that great apprehensions of danger were entertained by the Christians on account of the Pashà of that place, who, in subservience to the fanaticism of his people, was in the habit of perambulating the streets and bazaars by night in company with durweeshes carrying lanterns and flags, and beating drums as an accompaniment to their shouts of 'God preserve the Sultân, and break the necks of the infidels!'

In the early part of 1854 the villages around the plain of Esdraelon, and those of the plains of Galilee as far north as Safed, were wasted with fire and sword by the above-mentioned 'Akeeli Aga el Hhâsi and his brother Selameh Tahhâwi, said to be in direct revolt against the Sublime Government.

The news which reached me was bad. It was clear that insurrections of dangerous character were becoming worse day by day in the Nabloos district and in the southern parts of Galilee. From Hebron, too, came accounts of fresh disturbances, and of the danger which the poor Jews (British *protégés* and others) were in. Something must be done.

I paid a visit to the Turkish authorities for the purpose of talking over these matters and ascertaining what could be done; and first I went to the barracks to visit the military commander. On arriving at the foot of the flight of steps, which lead up to the terrace on which is

the reception room, the sentry on duty refused to allow my kawwâsses to precede me (with their official staves) according to invariable custom.

First beginnings of mischief must be checked. Here was an attempt at curtailment of the usual civilities hitherto observed as matter of course.[1]

My visit was therefore not paid. I turned and went on to the Mahhkameh (Hall of Judgment), over which the Kâdi presides, for the administration of Mohammedan law according to the Korân. The Kâdi is one of the very few Turkish native authorities sent from Constantinople. The appointment is made for three years. The Pashà and the Military Commander are also always Turks, and not Syrians. It will be remembered that at present the Kâdi was one of a commission of three administering the vacant Pashalic.

There was present in the Mahhkameh a large assembly of the Effendis with the Kâdi. They all rose to receive me; but the Kâdi did not. This again was a gross and intentional breach of customary etiquette, and which it was necessary to notice. Every Pashà and every Kâdi always rose up to receive the visit of a Consul. I walked away, and was going up the street, when a dragoman came running after us to apologise, and beg my return. I returned—the Kâdi rose with the rest—and we had a long discourse with the Effendis about the progress of the war, and the condition of the country.

Other Effendis who came in assured us that 20,000

[1] 'A breach of etiquette is, in the East, a matter of much more consequence than it may seem to Englishmen, and is not a thing to be passed over as if it meant nothing and were likely to result in nothing.'—The *Times*, January 8, 1878.

Egyptian troops were coming to guard the country, and that provisions had been sent from there to El Arish on the desert frontier.

On reaching home a messenger came from the Kaimakâm (Military Commandant) with excuses for the conduct of his sentry, and to announce his coming in two and a-half hours to visit me, which he did—and, in the course of a long conversation, he said that no Egyptian troops were coming.

It was evident that nothing would be done—perhaps nothing could be done for the quieting down of the insurgent peasantry, or for the protection of the British *protégés* for whom I at least was bound to exert every means within my power, and it was clearly of great importance to prevent the smouldering fires from bursting anywhere into flames, which might end in a general conflagration.

But what could be done? Nothing, save what had been so often done before—exert to the utmost whatever moral influence we possessed for the protection of the defenceless where there were no Turkish authorities to apply to, and use whatever influence we could bring to bear upon the ringleaders of the insurgents to cease from fighting. Feeble as these means may seem, they were all we had at command, and they had already been used with success in other parts of the country, as this narrative has shown.

Letters were accordingly prepared, and my kawwâsses were ordered to equip themselves for immediate travel, one south, another north, while a third went for a few

days to the farm at Urtas, by Bethlehem, where Meshullam needed help.

One letter was written for the Governor at Hebron, urging him to protect the Jews there from molestation. Two others were for the insurgent brothers in Galilee, 'Akeeli Aga el Hhâsi and his brother Selameh Tahhâwi.

'Akeeli Aga had first come prominently into notice among Europeans by his escort of the American Scientific Expedition to the Dead Sea in 1848. He was originally an Arab of Algiers, or some adjacent country, who had gathered to himself a band of rievers of African origin whom the Palestinians declared to be Indians (Hinâdi). They had subsisted by marauding in the vicinity of the Jordan, till he rendered himself so formidable that the Ottoman Government was fain to give him a roving commission as Aga of irregular cavalry, for acting between the Jordan and Mount Carmel. This was done despite his outrageous conduct in 1847.

The authority thus received he of his own free will extended to Nazareth, Tiberias, and Safed. Who could say him 'Nay,' inasmuch as the roads which traverse the plain of Esdraelon, between Carmel and Jordan, lead to these towns also. And the seaports of Acre and Caifa were also naturally connected with the district.

Commander Lynch, of the United States navy, in his interesting narrative of the expedition which he conducted to the Jordan and Dead Sea, gives an account of his first meeting with 'Akeeli Aga, in the divân of Sa'id Bey, the Governor of St. Jean d'Acre, to whom Commander Lynch had repaired for aid, according to the terms of the firmân authorising him to explore the Jordan.

The following is his account of that meeting:—

'Late in the afternoon I received an invitation from Sa'id Bey to come to the palace. Ascending a broad flight of steps, and crossing a large paved court, I was ushered into an oblong apartment simply furnished with the divân at the further end. I was invited to take the corner seat, among Turks the place of honour. Immediately on my right was the Cadi or Judge, a venerable and self-righteous looking old gentleman, in a rich blue cashmere cloak trimmed with fur. On *his* right sat the Governor. Around the room were many officers, and there were a number of attendants passing to and fro bearing pipes and coffee to every new comer. But what especially attracted my attention was a magnificent savage enveloped in a scarlet cloth pelisse richly embroidered with gold. He was the handsomest, and I soon thought also the most graceful being I had ever seen. His complexion was of a rich mellow indescribable olive tint, and his hair a glossy black; his teeth were regular and of the whitest ivory, and the glance of his eye was keen at times, but generally soft and lustrous. With the tarboosh upon his head which he seemed to wear uneasily, he reclined, rather than sat upon the opposite side of the divân, while his hand played in unconscious familiarity with the hilt of his yataghan. He looked like one who would be

> 'Steel amid the din of arms
> And wax when with the fair.' (pp. 68, 69.)

The Governor was not by any means anxious to further the wishes of Commander Lynch, without at least putting a large sum into his own pocket, and proceeded to raise difficulties in order to enhance the price to be paid for his protection.

'The Governor stated that since he had parted with me, he had received the most alarming intelligence of the hostile spirit of the Arab tribes bordering on the Jordan, and pointed to the savage chief as his authority. He named him 'Akil Aga el Hassée, a great border Shaikh of the Arabs. The Governor

proceeded to say that the "most excellent Shaikh" had just come in from the Ghor where the tribes were up in arms at war among themselves, and pillaging and maltreating all who fell into their hands. He was therefore of opinion that we could not proceed in safety with less than one hundred soldiers to guard us; and said that if I would agree to pay 20,000 piastres (about 800 dollars), he would procure means for the transportation of the boats and guard us from molestation.

'He could not look me in the face when he made this proposition, and it immediately occurred to me that the Bedawy Shaikh had been brought in as a bugbear to intimidate me into terms. This idea strengthened with reflection until I reached a state of mind exactly the reverse of what Sa'id Bey anticipated' (pp. 69–70).

Commander Lynch, in short, being a resolute man and having no idea of the actual condition of the country, was in a mood to carry out his instructions whether the Governor aided him or not; and when at last the Governor urged him to abandon his enterprise, he replied 'that we were ordered to explore the Dead Sea and were determined to obey.' . . . 'The Shaikh (Akeeli) here said that the Bedaween of the Ghor (Jordan valley) would eat us up. My reply was, that they would find us difficult of digestion. But as he might have some influence with the tribes, I added that we would much prefer going peaceably, paying fairly for all services rendered and provisions supplied, but to go at all hazards we were resolutely determined.'

'Without the court I overtook the Shaikh, who had preceded me, and asked him many questions about the tribes on the Jordan. In the course of the conversation I showed him my sword and revolver, the former with pistol barrels attached near the hilt. He examined them closely, and remarked that

they were the "Devil's invention." I then told him that we were fifteen in number, and besides several of those swords and revolvers, had one large gun (a blunderbuss), a rifle, fourteen carbines with bayonets, and twelve bowie-knife pistols, and asked him if he did not think we could descend the Jordan. His reply was, 'You will, if anyone can." After parting from him I learned that he was last year at the head of several tribes in rebellion against the Turkish Government, and that, unable to subdue him, he had been bought in by a commission corresponding to that of Colonel of the irregular Arabs (very irregular!) and a pelisse of honour It was the one he wore' (pp. 70–71).

Commander Lynch was rewarded for his simple straightforward conduct by meeting a man well able to give him the moral support he needed. This was an ex-Sherîf or Governor of Mecca, who had been deposed by Mehemet Ali, but who was held in great respect by all Moslems of Palestine. It occurred to Lynch to ask him to accompany the expedition. The idea was a very happy one. The Sherîf accepted the invitation, and the success of the expedition was assured.

'The Sherîf also brought a message from 'Akil, the handsome savage, to the purport that Sa'id Bey was a humbug, and had been endeavouring to frighten me. Sherîf thought it not unlikely that the Shaikh might also be induced to accompany us if the negotiations were conducted with secrecy' (p. 74).

A visit to 'Akeeli was accordingly made, and the services of himself and his tribe were engaged upon very moderate terms. Commander Lynch found that he had thus secured exactly the kind of help needed, and the following extracts show how well 'Akeeli performed his engagements.

'The Sherîf and 'Akil frequently visited us in our tent. The former was our counsellor, sagacious and prudent; the latter was the bold warrior and the admirable scout. On the march, it was said that he contrived to get a sight of the boats when no one else could. We never tired of the company of this graceful savage. Altogether, he was the most perfect specimen of manhood we had seen. Looking at his fine face, almost effeminate in its regularity of feature, who would imagine that he had been the stern leader of revolt, and that his laughing, careless eye had even glanced from his stronghold on the hill upon the Pashâ's troops in the plain, meditating slaughter in their ranks, and booty from the routed Turk; or searched the ravines and the hillsides, the wady and the valley, for the lurking fellahin and their herds? That arm, which, in its easy and graceful position, seemed almost nerveless, had wielded the scimitar with fatal strength; and *he* seemingly so mild, had successfully led a small but desperate band against the authority of the Sultan, and forced the Governor of Acre to treat with him, and purchase the security of the district with a high office and the crimson pelisse of honour' (pp. 116–117).

'Last year (1847), while in rebellion against the government, 'Akil, at the head of his Bedawin followers, had swept these plains, and carried off a great many horses, cattle, and sheep; among them the droves and herds of the Nassir. There had, in consequence, been little cordiality between them since they met at Tiberias; but, to-night, Nassir asked 'Akil if he did not think that he had acted very badly in carrying off his property. The latter answered, no; that Nassir was then his enemy, and that he, 'Akil, had acted according to the usages of war among the tribes.

'The Nassir then asked about the disposition made of various animals, and especially of a favourite mare. 'Akil said that he had killed so many of the sheep, given so many away, and sold the rest; the same with the cattle and horses. As to the mare, he said he had taken a fancy to her, and that it was the one he now rode. This the Emir knew full well.

'After some further conversation Nassir proposed that they

should bury all wrongs and become brothers. To this 'Akil assented. The former thereupon plucked some grass and earth, and lifting up the corner of 'Akil's aba, placing them beneath it, and then the two Arabs embracing, with clasped hands swore eternal brotherhood.

'When questioned immediately after upon the subject, 'Akil stated that so obligatory was the oath of fraternity that, should he hereafter carry off anything from a hostile tribe, which had once, no matter how far back been taken from the Emir, he would be bound to restore it.

'As an instance he mentioned that when he was in the service of Ibrahim Pashà, there were nine other tribes besides his own; and that in one of their expeditions they carried off a number of sheep, forty of which were assigned as his portion; that shortly after an Arab came forward and claimed some of them on the ground of fraternisation. 'Akil told him that he did not know, and had never seen him before; but the man asserted and proved that their fathers had exchanged vows, and the sheep claimed were consequently restored.

'These Bedawin are pretty much in the same state as the barons of England and the robber knights of Germany were some centuries back' (pp. 147-148).

An amusing incident shows 'Akeeli in a clear light as an adept at cattle-lifting:—

'In ten minutes after leaving the camping-ground this morning, the caravan struck upon the plain and crossed the wady Fariâ pursuing a S. by W. course. Across the ravine they saw a young camel browsing among the brown furze and stunted bushes, which, in these plains, serve to protect the scanty vegetation from the intense heat of the sun. This creature had evidently strayed from some fellahin encampment, or had been abandoned by its owners when pursued by the Bedawin, many of whom had been seen the day previous on the eastern side of the Jordan. The camel being quite wild racked off at full speed on their approach, and the scouts immediately started in pursuit. Its whole body swayed regularly with its

peculiar racking motion, as before remarked, exactly like the yawing of a ship before the wind. Whether it walks or runs, the camel ever throws forward its hind and fore leg on the same side, and at the same time, as a horse does in pacing. The fugitive was soon caught, and true to its early teaching, knelt down the moment a hand was placed upon its neck. 'Akil abandoning his mare, mounted the prize, and without bridle or halter, dashed off at full speed over the plain to increase the number of our beasts of burden' (pp. 164 165).

These extracts give a vivid picture of the man, as he then was. When the party reached the Dead Sea, as they did in safety, Lynch continues (p. 178):—

'"Akil, to whom we were all much attached, came to see us prior to his departure. To our surprise and great delight, we learned in the course of conversation that he was well acquainted and on friendly terms with some of the tribes on the eastern shore. I therefore prevailed upon him to proceed there by land, apprise the tribes of our coming, and make arrangements to supply us with provisions.'

At last the time for parting came, and Commander Lynch writes:—

'To-night our Bedawin had a farewell feast, characteristic alike of their habitual waste and want of cleanliness. A huge kettle partly filled with water was laid on a fire made of wood gathered on the beach, and strongly impregnated with salt; when the water boiled, a quantity of flour was thrown in and stirred with a branch of drift-wood seven feet long and nine inches in circumference. When the mixture was about the consistence of paste, the vessel was taken from the fire, and a skin of rancid butter, about six pounds, in a fluid state was poured in; the mixture was again stirred, and the Bedawin seated round it, scooped out the dirty greasy compound with the hollow of their hands, 'Akil not the least voracious among them. He is a genuine barbarian, and never sleeps even

beneath the frail covering of a tent. In his green 'aba, which he has constantly worn since he joined us, he is ever to be found at night slumbering, not sleeping, near the watch fire, his yataghan by his side, his heavy-mounted, wide-mouthed pistols beneath his head' (p. 179).

'Akeeli returned to Galilee by the eastern side of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, and thus to the Sea of Galilee. Commander Lynch met him again, after the work in South Palestine was over, in St. Jean d'Acre, when Sherîf invited the party to breakfast with him and 'Akeeli Aga. From this time forward 'Akeeli remained in Turkish pay.

At the time of the present history, 1853–4, the Government appear to have attempted to dispense with his services. At any rate a body of Kurds, from the neighbourhood of Aleppo, claimed to be now invested with the same command over this district hitherto held by 'Akeeli and his brother. The rival corps had met and fought it out with much slaughter. Some were of opinion that this was what the Turks meant them to do, in order to weaken both. The Kurds were routed, and left corpses strewing the ground from Tabor to Hermon. 'Akeeli followed up his victory by plundering, in every direction, the places where he asserted his enemies had found supplies of food and forage.

There being, as before said, no Turkish authority within reach, and as I would not trust solely to the personal influence of my local agents with 'Akeeli in so serious an emergency as the present, I dispatched a letter from myself to each of these brothers ('Akeeli Aga and Selameh Tahhâwi), reminding them of their duty to their own government, and admonishing them to avoid oppres-

sion of Christians in general, as well as of our own Anglo-Jewish *protégés*.

My select kawwâs, Mohammed es Serwân, carried these letters. The service was not without danger, for on the way he found all the intervening country of Nabloos (*i. e.* the Samaria district) in arms, with slaughter and devastation prevailing from the distance of a few leagues of Jerusalem to the plain of Esdraelon; (this was unconnected with 'Akeeli's doings beyond, in Galilee;) insomuch that he was obliged to travel over the summits of hilly ranges instead of along the regular roads.[1] Then the great plain, Esdraelon, was occupied by Eastern Bedaween, encamped and ravaging around Mount Tabor. (It must be remembered that all these feuds and fightings were among the Moslem inhabitants alone, and had nothing to do with religion.)

Having thus reached Nazareth by a circuitous route, my kawwâs took with him, according to my directions, the native head man of the Protestants there. He found the triumphant brothers near Hhatteen, and was civilly received with the letters which he delivered.

The winter season was fully upon us before my kawwâs had left Jerusalem on his mission (January 29). Torrents of rain fell, with storms of wind, thunder, lightning, hail, and snow; within the following fortnight the roads commonly traversed were mostly impassable.

The accounts of the disorders in the district through which he had to pass became so alarming that we were becoming uneasy about his safety; there being no post

[1] Compare Judges, v. 6, about a similar state of things in that very district.

through the interior of the country, we were unable to hear any news about him, and were considering the propriety of sending in search of him. It was a relief when he at last presented himself, worn and travel-stained.

This was by no means the only service of special adventure that this kawwâs, Mohammed es Serwân, had performed with remarkable intelligence and courage. His reward on this occasion, over and above the commendation which he thoroughly appreciated, and honourable mention to the Foreign Office, was a complete new suit of clothes (of the colours generally worn by the kawwâsses of the British Consulate—scarlet cloth jacket embroidered in gold, with dark blue full trowsers).

'Akeeli Aga and his brother sent me replies to my letters. They declared their unqualified obedience to the Sublime Government, but complained of injustice done them by subordinates. This is a usual excuse for Syrian insurgents to make, and often it is made in all sincerity and with good reason. Loyalty to the Ottoman Government is compatible with indignation at injustice done by local authorities, and even with actual resistance to these authorities.

The letters to me were artfully concocted. It was, however, in no wise within my province to enter into the merits of the quarrel between these insurgents and their opponents, or into that between them and 'Abdu'l Hadi, the Governor of Nabloos, and least of all to meddle with any proceedings of the Pashà of Egypt, of whose conduct complaint was made in Selameh's letter to me.

It was, however, certain that 'Abdu'l Hadi could have no power to send 'Akeeli Aga, as he was alleged to have

threatened he would, into exile at Widin (the European fortress). This accusation being untrue afforded ground for suspicion that others made by 'Akeeli Aga might likewise be exaggerated. It would be tedious to recount the ins and outs of affairs between 'Akeeli Aga and the Turkish authorities. Enough that in May we heard that he had been confirmed in the Turkish service as commander of 200 Bashi Bozuks, chiefly his own tribe of Hinâdi adherents.

This favour, he had the impudence to give out, was owing to my having exercised good offices in his behalf. I had no desire whatever to do so. But the truth was that the French authorities at Bayroot had taken him into special consideration, probably from the motive that he was the only man able to rule the district in which lay the convents at Carmel and at Nazareth, with numerous Latin Christians to be protected; it was therefore judged better to have him for a friend than for a troublesome enemy; better to have him under obligation for protection of the convents at Nazareth and Carmel, and for keeping the road open across the plain of Esdraelon, than to have that territory abandoned to the utter helplessness of Turkish rule and the conflict of factions.

These ends were attained nominally and ostensibly through the Turkish Government, under whom 'Akeeli Aga held his command. Finding him so well backed up, I had no objection to this turn of affairs, seeing that by it we obtained the same advantages of comparative security for our numerous Jewish *protégés* of Safed and Tiberias, as well as for the Protestants of Nazareth connected with the Church Missionary Society.

'Akeeli Aga was summoned to Bayroot in June, by His Excellency the Musheer (Governor-General). The French authorities then appointed their native agent, M. Luis Catafago, to accompany him; but he refused to trust himself on the road merely in company of a native Syrian; whereupon M. de Lesseps, the Consul-General, procured for him a 'safe-conduct' (the Amân wa Rai) accompanied by his own written guarantee. Before however trusting himself even to that assurance, 'Akeeli went for a few days into the desert eastwards, and brought back a thousand chosen horsemen into his place—allies, to hold it for him. The Turkish authority was satisfied with the fact of his having put in an appearance when summoned—thus acknowledging their supremacy. Shortly after this, M. de Lesseps paid 'Akeeli a visit at Caifa, and the latter met him with a showy retinue of Bedawy Arabs.

It was on the ground of 'Akeeli Aga's Algerine origin (mentioned above) that the French thus treated him as a quasi subject of theirs; and this they did willingly—they were frequently making him presents—and so long as they did so he flattered them and overawed the country, calling himself a Frenchman in Turkish service. On his return from Bayroot, he professed that Wamek Pashà, the Governor-General, had no objection to his being so styled; and I have myself heard him say the same at a later date when I visited him in a journey upon the banks of the Jordan, and when, to prove more evidently that he was a Frenchman, he broke the fast of Ramadân by eating and drinking, while he laughed at 'those fools of Mohammedans' around him.

It should be borne in mind, in connection with this French recognition of 'Akeeli Aga, that at the same time the renowned Abdu'l Kâder, the great Algerine leader, conquered and exiled by France, was residing at Damascus, a pensioner of France, and had a considerable number of Algerine and other African followers settled on the lands between Damascus and Safed in Galilee, thus keeping up a communication with 'Akeeli.

By such means, in the event of a not-to-be-uttered possibility of French activity in Syria, the French were able to count upon co-operation through the extent of the Damascus territory and the plain of Esdraelon with doubtless the Maronite (Roman Catholic) interest in the Lebanon. These were considerations of no trifling value. However, the Pashalic of Jerusalem was not disturbed by these affairs in Galilee; it was, and probably still is, surprising how little one Pashalic knows of the transactions in its neighbouring Pashalics.

However, to return to my narrative of events in 1854. The effect of my message to 'Akeeli Aga was beneficial for the time. He had at all times behaved pretty well to persons under European protection, with the object of keeping in favour with the Consuls. The district within which his rule extended lay beyond the supervision of any other Jerusalem Consulate than the English, but it was in the very heart of my northern territory, and any uproar in it always endangered the unfortunate Jews of Tiberias and Safed, as well as the Christians of Nazareth and Galilee. It was an advantage to have a man like 'Akeeli, able to check any aggressions on the defenceless people, for whose safety in these times of anxiety I was

concerned, and for whom immunity from injury was obtained by means of my appeal to him. Meanwhile we lived in hopes of the Turkish Government in the country being duly strengthened before long.

'Akeeli retained his rule for many years afterwards.

Tristram found 'Akeeli Aga (whom he calls Agyle Agha) in Galilee, when he visited the Holy Land in 1863–4. He describes him as being then a large stoutly-built man, over six feet high, with rather flat features, nose not prominent, short smooth black beard, and a remarkably placid and gentle expression of countenance.

On being informed of the birth of the Prince of Wales' son, 'Yes,' he replied, 'Priest Zeller wrote me word that God had been good and given good gifts unto his children, at which thy servant rejoiced.' He spoke of the Prince having dined with him, and of the pleasure he had had in conducting him through the country. His services would always be at the command of Englishmen and of all Christians; for he had not forgotten the kindness of Christians to him in his youth, and especially how they had aided his escape when unjustly imprisoned in Turkey, and how a Greek bishop had given him money to carry him safely back to Syria.[1]

Later on (p. 452), Tristram describes his visit to 'the Chieftain's camp. It presented a lively scene as evening approached, shepherds and goatherds driving in their flocks from pasture, camels lazily chewing the cud or winding in long single file from Mount Tabor, while Arab mares with their foals stood picketed about. We were received

[1] 'Land of Israel,' p. 420.

in the usual open tent, the Agha standing outside till we were seated on carpets and cushions, and a large retinue of high and low degrees surrounding us. We were invited to dinner, but no business conversation ensued though business was being carefully transacted, as the Agha vouchsafed one-half of his face with a pleasant smile to us, and the other half with a keen glance to his secretary on the other side, who was receiving rents and counting dollars on a handkerchief at his elbow. Our tents were being mounted on a slope across the brook, and as soon as they were ready we withdrew till about eight o'clock, when a negro with a lantern came to summon us to dinner. This was a single course, consisting of the sheep which had been killed on our arrival, boiled in fragments, over rice saturated with butter; the mess was served in an enormous wooden bowl, which it took four men to carry, while the host, according to etiquette, sat apart and did not partake. It would have delighted a Rembrandt to paint the scene, as we sat in a circle under the open black tent in a moonless but clear night, tearing the meat and scooping up the rice with our fingers, while a tall Bedaween stood over us with a little oil lamp, whose light just revealed the crowd of various faces peering at us through the darkness. Round another huge bowl, farther on, feasted the guests of lower degree. When we had eaten, or rather gorged, and water had been poured over our greasy hands, coffee was served, and the business of the evening commenced. Mr. Zeller's catechist made a long speech, intended rather for the bystanders than for Agyle, complimenting him on our parts, expressing our desire he might never forget us,

and to that end presenting him with a gold watch and chain we had brought for him. This he received with a bow, and handed it to his secretary without even casting a glance at it. Then, Mr. Zeller added a supplement, pointing out the importance of a safe and secure road being provided for travellers from the Hauran through Bashan, and how, if he succeeded in ensuring this, he would have the goodwill of the Western Powers and their good offices at the Porte.'

Before leaving the country, Mr. Tristram and his party were anxious to visit the Jordan Valley, and being by that time at Nazareth, they called on the Governor, a Turk from Constantinople, to obtain a guard. 'We were received in a room opening into a dilapidated yard where the mouldering walls of mud, broken floor, and rough mustaba (bench) on one side, seemed an emblem of the crumbling power of the Turk in the land. The place would have discredited the cart-shed of an impoverished English farm-house. In one corner three ragged carpet-rugs were spread, the sole furniture. But the Governor's salary, when paid at all, is but 5*l.* per month, and like all Turkish officials, he has to live by squeezing the people. He was dressed in frock coat and trousers, and received us very courteously. His language was very diplomatic. We asked if we could descend the Jordan Valley with safety. "How could he tell? His district only extended to Beisan, and so far it was safe enough. He had no authority to send guards beyond." But did he think Agyle Agha could ensure our safety? "How could he tell? Agyle Agha was an independent authority and did not report to him. He knew nothing of his

power." But at this moment two horsemen of the Agha's entered, and he changed his tone. "Whenever Agyle sends a man there, you are safe. He knows the country better than anyone else."'

Mr. Tristram and his party chose to trust to 'Akeeli, who was encamped at the foot of Tabor, and whose 'patriarchal hospitality' travellers enjoyed. He treated them with kindness and consideration, according to his custom.

These notices serve to show that 'Akeeli Aga was during many years one of the principal characters in Northern Palestine, and that, while he resolutely maintained his own position in the country, he sought to keep up friendly relations with Europeans.

From 'Akeeli Aga to the English Consul, 1854.

In the happiest of times I was honoured with your letter, and all your good advice and kindnesses have been thankfully received.

With respect to your statement of my ruining the country of Safed, this Your Excellency must have learned from those who love corruption and sow dissension; because the country of Safed is our mother, and she is dear to us. Our fathers before us of ancient times were servants in Safed and elsewhere to the High government, as well as being officers of the irregular cavalry, and it has always been the custom of that government when wishing to displace any of its servants to pay him salary for his service. But now as for this, your servant, by means of a bribe of 70,000 piastres from 'Abdu'l Hadi to Ahhmad Pashà, I have suffered much and been ill-treated; all my property was seized by the former, after which all my arms were sold to the family of 'Abdu'l Hadi, who refused to pay me my salary for three months due, and food for horses during that time; he completed my misfortunes by expelling me to Widin, and I am

sure that the government at the Porte knows nothing of this persecution.

But notwithstanding all this, I accept your advice, and beg you to assist in bringing me back what was forcibly taken from me, in horses, sheep, arms, and grain. And I am sure that the Sublime government knows nothing of what has happened to me; nevertheless I look upon myself as still a servant of the Sublime government, whether I be in the official service or not, and you may inquire of this from your Agent [at Acre], Mr. Finzi.

On examination you will find how I have been maltreated, and my brother also.

I may add that I thank the most High God that you have thought of me and written to me; for it has been the means afforded me of acquainting you with my troubles. I therefore feel myself very happy, and in this my letter I beg you to assist me in obtaining justice, and you may be sure that nothing shall happen from me against the will of the government.

May God save you!

(Signed) 'AKEELI EL HHASI.

Selâmeh (brother of the above) to the English Consul.

(After compliments). Acknowledging receipt of your letter the contents of which I have perfectly understood, and have thanked God for your favour, it is necessary to acquaint you with what is going on, and to request your assistance in obtaining for us justice.

As for my brother 'Akeeli Aga, I will bring to your notice what has occurred to him, and entreat your zeal to have justice done him, in order that corruption and sowing of dissension may be arrested.

As for myself I have been much persecuted in the Egyptian territory, and I came to this country for the sole purpose of obtaining redress by means of the Sublime Ottoman government, so as to cause 'Abbâs Pashà to set free my sons, and also

to restore my property which had been taken from me by His Highness, without the least right whatsoever.

I represented to all the Pashàs of the different districts of this country the state of my case, but never met with success. On the contrary they always tried with artifices to seize and deliver me over to 'Abbâs Pashà, without hearing our complaint.

On receiving your letter I was highly pleased, having always learned that the English government loves truth, and renders justice to whom justice is due, because she herself is just.

I entreat your government through your mediation to set free my sons from 'Abbâs Pashà, and to restore to us our property, for so we should obtain justice.

But as for myself, and what you hear from enemies of what we are doing in Safed, it is all falsehood and corruption. Make enquiries respecting me from your agents, and you will find that when the Eastern Arabs came to this district and plundered flocks of sheep, &c., I rode off with my horsemen, and fought the Arabs and brought back to the owners all the spoil that they had taken—giving to the people full protection, in order to be in favour with the Sublime government, and I promise to remain so.

Begging you not to accept any future complaints about me that may come from my enemies,

May God save your English government!

(Signed) Selâmeh Tahâwi.

While describing the state of the North, it may be recorded that at Hhasbeya, in Anti-Lebanon, the Ameer Sa'ad ed Deen-esh-Shehâbi, who governed there, had suffered himself to speak in very disrespectful terms of Queen Victoria in presence of some French military officers; these reported it to their Consul in Damascus, who took no steps. He was, however, called to account for the offence, which under the circumstances of the

time was not only against our queen, but his conduct was treasonable to his own Sultan. The Ameer was made to answer for it in Constantinople, whither he was sent a prisoner under escort of our high-spirited British Consul, Wood, of Damascus.

After his return home, Sa'ad ed Deen, in his own house, expressed to me his regret for the offence, and described the treatment he had received. He was put hastily on board a vessel at Bayroot, and his entreaties refused, which he pleaded with tears, to be accompanied by one or more of his sons who had accompanied him so far. Then he arrived at Constantinople, amid all its wondrous sights, and was sent by Turkish officials through dirty and winding streets to the palace of the English Embassy. There he was taken through successive apartments by servants in showy dresses into a vast saloon and detained there, standing at one end of it, while at a distance he could see an old man and his secretary busied with papers over a table.

'An Ameer of the Shehâbs of the Lebanon, I, an old man, was kept standing in silence for a long time; but at length that old man, the Ambassador, rose and came to me without compliments or invitation to be seated, asked me my name, then asked again, then pointed to my white beard, and said he thought that such a beard would only have belonged to a *man*, to a *wise man*, not a child.'

This Ambassador then ordered the attendants to conduct him to —— Pashà's house, to be dealt with by the Turkish authorities; but to be shown, before returning

to Syria, the camps of the French and English armies, as well as the military preparations of the Porte From the Turkish officials he received reproaches and neglect, and when he was without money, they refused to supply him, so that he had to get home as well as he could, by borrowing from common money-lenders. Such was his own narrative, and in giving it the Ameer spoke only in the tone of a person who felt that he had deserved his mild punishment.

The well-timed discipline exercised on this occasion produced most excellent effect. The Ameer was a staunch protector of English people, and what was more valuable still, of native Christians to the day of his death, which has been referred to on a previous page. He faithfully protected the Christians, and he and his sons, all Moslems, were singled out and murdered during the Lebanon massacres in 1860.

Who instigated those massacres? Who encouraged and revived the fast waning fanaticism of the Moslems?

These are questions that ought to be answered.

CHAPTER XVI.

CORN AT FAMINE PRICE.

Distress in Jerusalem—Corn kept out of the Market—Poor Jews suffering—Corn sent for by us—Distribution of loaves—Corn brought in by a native—Snow and rain—Charitable conduct of a Moslem—Another Moslem lowers the price—Good harvest.

In our more immediate neighbourhood at Jerusalem, fighting was still going on, in February, when the peasantry ought to have been busy with their ploughing and with their seed; and we heard of battles in which wild Arabs were engaged on the side of Abu Gosh and Ibn Simhhân, so near to Jerusalem, on the north side, as Beereh. At the same time some of our travellers had seen a body of sixty Bedaween on the banks of the Jordan. Nevertheless our English travellers came and went, and were unmolested by any.

If there were disturbances in the country around us, there was incalculable misery of a more distressing kind within the Holy City. Trade of every kind was depressed, owing to the war and to the consequent small number of Christian pilgrims who came to the holy places.

There had been a severe outbreak of small-pox towards the close of the previous year, 1853, and this carried off a considerable number of Moslems, who by reason of their fatalist doctrines objected to vaccina-

tion as a means of prevention. We were informed that in three weeks eight hundred Moslem children had died of this disease. The Christians suffered much less. It was said that no Jews died of this complaint at this time. The Jewish physician vaccinated 200, and the physician of the Greek convent, 300 children.

The winter also was more severe than usual—the rains had been very heavy and continuous and the winds stormy. From all of these causes there was an unusual amount of poverty and distress among the poorer Christians and Moslems, and very severe distress among the Jews, who always suffer more than others in times of trouble, and who were on this occasion deprived by reason of the war of a considerable portion of the charitable funds contributed by the Jews of other countries for their support.

The Russian Jews were unable to send money as usual from Russia to their relations and to the Synagogue authorities, and hence arose a most serious deficit in the funds available for support of the poor. This will be more fully described in treating of the condition of the Jews.

But this was not all, nor was it even the worst. Scarcity of food prevailed, and threatened to become positive famine.

Notwithstanding all the evil reports brought upon the Holy Land by unbelievers of the Bible in a former generation, and notwithstanding the opinions formed in haste and ignorance by travellers thither in our own time, passing along a few highways under the conduct of dragomans who are generally foreigners to the country, the grain produce of Palestine is still enormous, and the waste of it

yearly by the plunder of wild Arabs, by wilful fires between hostile factions, and by the mere rotting on the ground for the want of good roads towards markets in which it might be disposed of, is deplorable to those who really know the facts.

The chief corn country in respect of quantity grown and yielded is that of the ancient Philistines, that is, the long plain along the coast between Carmel and Egypt.

Other localities northwards are even better reputed as to the quality of the corn, such as Tubâs (Thebes), and Hanoon near Nabloos and Alma in Upper Galilee.

Yet the distribution of bread about Palestine is often unequal, owing to deficient means of communication, as said above.

It may therefore be easily understood that distress was brought on the population generally, and on some classes particularly, when, owing to the necessities of the war, the regular government levy on the produce for public service (one tenth is the Government due, and was levied in kind, or in money) was largely augmented ; and when export of grain was prohibited, or its removal in any other direction than towards the capital, where the government became the principal, if not the only, purchaser at its own price, that price being paid in paper *kaimehs* for small sums as well as large.

It has been the custom from immemorial ages for the villagers to hoard up stores of grain in pits with cemented sides prepared in the ground; these provisions are not always sufficient for the year's consumption, though they sometimes far exceed it, but the food thus in store is available only for the owners who are the leading and

wealthy families of each place; the poorer very often have no such store—and whole villages are not unfrequently reduced to buy of each other, and that at enhanced prices as the season advances, or if seasonable rains have been delayed.

In January of this year, 1854, starvation seemed impending over Jerusalem, not on account of a deficient harvest in the previous year, far from it. The Providence of God had liberally opened its hand, yet all things had not been filled with plenteousness. This arose from the rapacity of forestallers of corn purchases—rich men who, knowing that the government must buy grain sooner or later for the army at any price, laid in great supplies, and then kept their stores concealed, thereby gradually raising the market value, till it rose to famine price.

Such conduct was the more flagitious, seeing that in accordance with the primitive customs these men of property had their own domestic reserves available for their family; and thus it was the very poor just in proportion to their poverty who were the inevitable sufferers.

The Committee of Government were powerless. (It will be remembered that during our Interregnum the Pashâlic was held by a Commission of three officials.) Nay it was well known that the worst criminals were to be found even among the members of the City Mejlis or Town Council of the Moslem Arab Effendis.

Curses loud and deep 'filled the air.' The victims were of all religions—Christian, Moslem, and Jews.

It may be necessary to explain that none in Jerusalem but the poor are dependent upon the daily market supplies of corn, oil, fuel, or other provisions capable of being

stored. The rich natives, and even the peasantry for the most part, have their stores of all these things laid up at the time of harvest, from the produce of their lands. Others who have means buy their stores for the year at harvest time when produce is cheap. The convents also lay up provision in the same way.

Excepting at harvest time when the peasantry are selling their produce, provisions can only be obtained in the market from retail dealers, who take advantage of circumstances to increase the profits upon sale of the stores which they have bought at the cheap season, and laid up for sale when things become dear in the winter.

Hence the pressure of the famine prices in Jerusalem fell with full weight on the poor, and above all on the Jews.

The great convents, Latin, Greek, and Armenian, have always had large stores of grain, fuel, and water. In times past these stores were indispensable for the subsistence of the inmates, who in troublous periods were often shut in to their strongholds for weeks together. These convents supplied to some extent the distress of their own poor.

But there were nevertheless many Christians in very great distress at this time; and also some Moslems, owing to the difficulty of buying corn for bread.

The poor sufferers had recourse to making bread largely mixed with mill-stone grit—even with earth to increase the bulk—and with the deleterious *Zuwân* (the ζιζάνια or 'tares' of the New Testament parable), which is always carefully sifted out from the corn, because its effect is injurious to the stomach, besides making the head

giddy, and possessing no nutritive power. Some persons nearly died from eating of this bread mingled with tares. It caused vertigo and temporary insanity.

People were weeping and wailing about the streets. On February 10th, a piece of bread thus made, and sold exorbitantly dear in the common market, was brought to me and was exhibited at the weekly evening meeting of our Literary Society. It was of a bluish slate colour, coarse, and looked unfit for human food.

That same morning I had authorised Abn Ibrahim, a Christian native of Nazareth, a man accustomed to travel all over Syria, and among the Arabs, and well versed in agricultural matters, to purchase wheat at a cheaper price from the villages near Hebron, even if necessary from 'Abderrahhmân 'Amer himself (he was known to have immense stores).

This wheat was intended to be sold at cost price in the bazaars, in order if possible to bring down the exorbitant prices of the forestallers, or to compel them to bring out some of their hoards. Our Nazareth agent was to begin by bringing in 500 measures (250 bushels). Of course no one, whether government officials or others, would dare to molest him, or to seize his grain under the circumstances. After nine days he returned having only succeeded in getting 100 measures (five camel-loads); this, however, was something for a commencement.

But before this supply could arrive in Jerusalem, the condition of the Jewish poor became alarming. Not only was there want of bread and want of corn, excepting such small supplies as could be got of the unsifted mixture, often half mouldy—containing the deleterious

zuwân or tares—but there was bitter and unusual cold, while snow lay deep on the mountains and filled the streets of the city.

Fuel could not be got because the state of the roads prevented the peasantry from bringing into the market any supplies of wood or charcoal. The slippery mountain tracks were too dangerous for laden camels to traverse with their smooth and sliding feet, and the depth of snow prevented many a barefooted peasant woman from bringing her usual basket of faggots.

Thus the poor suffered from the extremity of cold as well as hunger, having most of them no covering but the thin rags with which they had been clad in the summer. The British Consulate was beset by starving crowds; we gave away all we could, and then the miserable people had to be driven away by force.

I had already drawn up and sent to England an appeal for funds to enable us to relieve the destitute Jews by giving them employment. But in those days communication was slow, and before any reply could arrive we found ourselves overtaken by what threatened to become a famine. Some people had been already found starved to death. Instant measures were necessary, however small the means at our command.

When Abu Ibrahim, of Nazareth, returned from Hebron with the five camel-loads of wheat, we obtained the help of a few friends on the spot, who subscribed money enough to allow of our purchasing this wheat at once, and appropriating it to the immediate need of the poor Jews. Loaves were baked and distributed twice a week. The making and baking gave employment to some

who were in great distress; but the famishing boys broke in and, snatching up the unbaked dough, devoured it. The bread had to be guarded on its way to and from the oven by kawwâsses of the Consulate.

The Missionaries (and I have no doubt the Bishop) were bestowing charitable relief, but this was all very inadequate to meet the mass of misery with which we had to cope.

Ash Wednesday (March 1st) was one of the days for distribution of the loaves. The Jews thronged the Church premises and the door steps in spite of a pitiless snow storm, which was falling on them—miserably clad as they were. Nine inches of snow lay on the ground. Divine service was, at the moment, going on. (The Consulate was at that time adjoining the Church.) Some of them took refuge in the Church itself out of the snow, to the amazement of the clergy officiating. When the distribution began, the spectacle was heartrending—the blind, the lame, the ragged, the old, the widowed, presenting their tickets previously given, and speaking in Hebrew, German, Spanish, or Turkish; many were crying from mere weakness—some with young babies in arms, some staggering in fever or ague fits, who had got up from bed because their children were crying for food. Most were drenched with snow and rain, and perished by the keen wind blowing through their summer rags. It needed three stout kawwâsses to keep off the crowd. One had lost a shoe in the scuffle, and cried bitterly because it was not his: it had only been lent him to come in.

The Moslem kawwâsses assisted the infirm to come forward; and our whole household, official *employés*,

native servants, and men, down to the young children, had to take part in bringing the bread quickly up, so as to enable the poor creatures to be dismissed as soon as possible, and get out of the crushing throng and out of the snow.

Then arose a cry for a little fuel, if it was only a handful of charcoal apiece, in the bitter cold. There was some small supply in the house, which had a back door: to that back door each person was passed, after receiving their loaf—and there small supplies of charcoal were given out by two Spanish Jewesses who served us in domestic work. The poor creatures who were to have this fuel had no vessel in which to receive it, but pulled off their wretched handkerchiefs, which served for turban or girdle, and into these fuel enough to warm at least one meal, or cup of coffee, was put. Those too old or too distressed to help themselves sat down shaking and crying on the steps, while some one pulled some part of their dress, even their jacket, if there was nothing else, tied up a little coal in it, and led them to the door to make way for others.

The supply of loaves was not sufficient for the starving crowd, but as the Rev. Mr. Crawford, then one of the Missionaries in Jerusalem, passed by, he gave us half-a-sovereign, with which more bread was bought in the Bazaar (by our kawwâs) and distributed within a few minutes. And what blessings and thanks were poured out for the small loaf or two among families of four, six, or eight persons! What a strange, sad sight was that day's scene in the Holy City! And yet, this was only the beginning.

On the preceding Sabbath (I use the word in the Jewish sense, of Saturday), Rabbi Y——, one of the most influential of his class, had been preaching in the Synagogue about the sin of delaying the coming of Messiah, by accepting bread from the Christians, when one of the congregation interrupted him, exclaiming that the sin which really retarded the coming of Messiah was to be found in the injustice and extortions practised in Jerusalem.

I was told that there was at this time a movement in the Jewish quarter, to petition Montefiore and Rothschild to appoint the English Consul trustee for the distribution of their charitable funds, instead of the Rabbis. I had no desire for such an addition to my daily labour, which was already quite sufficient, besides the consideration of the odium which such a change would infallibly beget.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

[What the daily labour here referred to meant, may be gathered from the following notices, which appear casually in the Journals kept at the time:—

On one day, official visits in the forenoon (after a morning of reading and writing) to the authorities as to the best means of restoring tranquillity in the country. Despatches and letters dictated, written, and sent off by kawwâsses in various directions.

Next day. Travellers just arrived, visited, and looked after; —office business. Evening lesson in modern Greek. Late that night confidential interview with M— on the sudden death of a person, who proved to have been poisoned. Up till 3 o'clock in the morning writing despatches for Constantinople. I, though

in very feeble health, making copies as fast as my husband wrote them.

Next day, Sunday. Official proceedings in connection with the death mentioned, and funeral—Church services.

Next day, Monday. Kawwâs sent off to Urtas on urgent business there. The Consul himself following alone in a storm of rain (all his kawwâsses being dispersed on duty in various parts of the country). Home in evening wet through. At night he escorted Miss Cooper to her house after a charitable meeting which she had attended though ill. He returned alone with her small lantern in hand, through torrents of rain pouring and water running down the hilly streets.

Next day. Besides usual business, numerous cases of Jewish distress.

During next week office business as usual of all kinds, and unusual work on the accounts with shipping and trade returns of Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Caiffa to make up. 'Up till three in the morning writing,' is another entry, and again, 'Up very late writing, as is common now.' Again, 'For some days oppressed with mental labour, brains tried to the uttermost.' Later when all the travellers were gone, and throughout the summer when rest would have been very desirable, the press of business was as great as ever. In July the following entry occurs in the Journal—'Days so filled up that I hardly know how to describe them.'

These were the notes made by one whose delight was work, whose favourite saying was 'It is a royal thing to labour;' who never sought a holiday; even he found the constant strain oppressive. But there was no help for it. Business was urgent: help not to be had. And, indeed, but few of the very many who had just claims on the attention of the British Consul, whether residents or travellers, would have been content to leave their business in any other hands than his own.]

That same day, a single camel-load of wheat came into the city, brought by a native.

The crowd, striving to get a share of it, was so great that the seller had to raise his price above three piastres a measure, in order to reduce the number of the suppliants.

More corn was now ready to be brought in, but fresh snow falling and lying on the ground, made the steep roads dangerous for camels (with their soft, smooth feet), and it could not arrive.

Day and night the snow continued, and the famine with it.

Yet, in an agricultural point of view, a snow-fall is always looked upon as an omen of good, more so than that of rain, and is considered a promise of excellent harvest to succeed, not only of grain, but likewise of olives. The well of En Rogel was overflowing down the Kedron Valley, and the whole city and country were under snow.

The appearance of Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives thus under snow, is very curious, the perspective of distance becoming strangely distorted.

Travellers were either detained, or had to return after once starting on the road; some arrived on foot all the way from Jaffa or from Ramlah; the irregular and broken ground among the hills being concealed by a bad surface of snow, became unsafe for horses' tread. Among the detained travellers were officers of the Coldstream and Fusileer Guards.

This inclement weather, which had set in on the 1st of March, continued with little interruption until the 12th. Rain and snow fell alternately. On the morning of the 9th, the frost was so sharp that our bedroom windows, facing west, were found to have a sheet of frost inside.

On the 10th, there was plenty of ice about, and the morning was clear. Then came another heavy snowfall, but rain set in next day, and this ended in a thaw. What wonder that there were deaths from starvation among the unfortunate Jews, destitute of both food and fuel, in this severe weather, so unexpected in the month of March?[1] When Moslems and Christians were starving, one could understand what must be the fate of the Jews.

Although the evil-minded persons who were making their profit by thus keeping back the corn from the market, were of the Moslem Effendi class, there were many of this class who suffered severely from want. There were accounts given to us of Effendis, who were walking hungry about the streets, though clad in rich robes. A Moslem lady was known to cut off her hair, and send her slave to sell it in the bazaar for bread. (Oriental women like to have as many braids of hair as possible, and often wear the hair of other persons, or even braids of silk, to make a greater show.) I did what I could in expostulating with the Town Council on the state of things, and on the high price of corn for the poor. The destitution became very alarming.

I heard of a charitable Moslem, purchasing fifty measures of wheat, and throwing it down on his outspread cloak in the bazaar, he cried out, 'I have lifted up my hand to the most High God to sell this, out of mercy, for a less price than I gave for it.' What ensued may be easily imagined.

Had there been an active Pashà in the seat of govern-

[1] It sometimes happens that snow falls in Jerusalem even later, during and at the end of the first week in April.

ment, much of all this misery might have been prevented. But there was no Pashà, and practically no government. The members of the Commission were too closely connected with the very men who, by their greed and love of gain, had brought about much of the distress, to attempt to interfere with any vigour.

A Turk, however weak and indolent he might be, could have been influenced for good in the public interest. Being a stranger, he could have acted if he chose, and could have been roused by energetic representations to a sense of the responsibility he would incur by letting people perish of famine, while there was corn within reach.

The interregnum was now near its end, and when the new Pashà did arrive, resolute measures were taken for searching in towns and throughout the country for hidden treasures of wheat and barley; and the owners were compelled to produce them for sale at some not very unreasonable rate.

This increase of quantity in the market of course lowered the prices; but vast stores were still undiscovered till next harvest time, when the hidden pits were opened. Then much of the grain was found to be moulded by means of this winter's excessive rains and snow, and the corn had to be thrown away amid the execrations of the poor, as in Proverbs xi. 26.

Happily for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, our harvest was abundant, and new wheat was brought into the Jerusalem market about the middle of May. A poor Moslem brought in about one hundred measures, *i.e.* five camel-loads, and, pouring it out in the market, said

that he had sworn to God to sell his first new wheat at 14 piastres per measure, and in quantities not exceeding three measures to any one person (in order to prevent interested persons from buying it all up). This act instantly brought down wheat, from the unheard of price to which it had risen of 27 and 30 piastres per measure, to 15. It rose again in a day or two to 21 and 23, but even this reduction was an immense boon.

CHAPTER XVII.

ARRIVAL OF YAKOOB PASHÀ.

A Pashà of ancient family—Quiet restored—Pilgrims—Greeks—Moslems—Indian and Tartar Durweeshes and Convents—Establishment of a Spanish Consulate—French war ships on the coast—French pilgrims—Latin Patriarch's triumph in Bait Jala—English Travellers—Queen's Birthday—Kubrisli Pashà now Grand Vizier—Arrest of three Effendis—Chief of the Police arrested at the instance of the British Consulate and convicted of robbery—No English ships on the coast—News and rumours—Position of Austria and Prussia—News of the War, both true and false.

THE interregnum at last came to an end.

The new Pashà was announced on March 5th, as already arrived at Jaffa. We had been told that he was a man of far higher station than had ever before been appointed to the Pashalic of Jerusalem.

This Pashà was named Yakoob, and was a descendant of the famous old and wealthy family of Kara-Osman-Oglu, in Asia Minor.

> 'We Moslems reck not much of blood,
> But yet the line of *Carasmàn*
> Unchanged, unchangeable hath stood.'[1]

Hitherto, the Turks sent to Jerusalem had been men who had risen from the ranks, and who had no family distinction whatever. One or two had been men of some force of character, but they were exceptions to the rule, the great majority being insignificant and merely adventurers, while some were absolutely illiterate.

[1] 'Bride of Abydos.'

In eleven days after disembarking, our new governor, Yakoob Pashà, entered Jerusalem. He was old, like his predecessor, and was said to be eighty-four. He held the same rank of Wâli, or Musheer, *i.e.* a Pashà of three horse-tails. He was, therefore, addressed as *Dowletlu Effendim*, instead of 'Sa'adetlu Effendim,' which was the proper form in addressing the usual class of provincial Pashàs, who were 'Muteserref' of two horse-tails.

The arrival of so high a functionary, whether competent or not to establish order permanently among the turbulent factions of the rural districts, might be expected to give at least a temporary 'spurt' to the Ottoman domination, and, as such, the Pashà was heartily welcomed by the civic population. His Excellency's rank was, however, by no means indicated by the retinue brought with him: they were only of the class to which we had been accustomed—hungry pipe-bearers and slipper-carriers, from the hangers-on of the metropolis —but who lived in hopes of being transformed into governors of towns, secretaries, &c. The miserable apartments, for residence and business, in the Seraglio, remained as before; and anyone among us who might not be a favourer of Turkish existence, would hail the decrepit octogenarian now arrived, as a fitting representative of 'the sick man' about to vanish from the world's notice.

The Consuls, as may be supposed, watched the advent of the new Pashà with special interest at such a critical period. Whatever others might know, the English Consulate had no information as to his official antecedents, and could form no guess as to the line of conduct he was

likely to adopt under the circumstances. His age indicated nothing, for his white beard might have represented an 'Ali Pashà of Yanina, or a decrepit Doge of Venice in earlier times, only that the Tanzimât would allow of neither in 1854.

The rule was that, on the arrival of a new Pashà, visits of ceremony were paid to him by the Consuls (in full uniform) and by all the civil and religious dignitaries. The Pashà gave me a most friendly reception. But meeting with the Anglican Bishop and the clergy on the return from their visit, they expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of civility accorded to them. His Excellency had departed from usual custom, and had neither risen to receive them, nor had offered them pipes.

The village magnates also came to pay their court to the new Pashà, and some of these men played the hypocrite for temporary purposes. One day Hhaj Mustafa Abu Gosh came to visit me, deploring the past dissensions, and desiring to make peace with the Consulate, as the 'Dowleh' (government) and he were now reconciled. 'Abderrahhmân el Amer, of Hebron, came with two of his brothers, to whom he was now reconciled 'under the favour of Dowletlu el Bashâ' and did the same; and a third chief, Muslehh el Azizi, of Bait Jibreen, having also seen His Excellency, 'could not think of leaving the city, in returning homewards, without visiting the English Consul, and assuring him of the universal satisfaction in having so good a Pashà,' also expressing fervent vows, that 'now the world was to be at rest, Inshallah!'

What could I do with these malefactors when they thus presented themselves, in amity with each other and

with the Government, their only legal judge, but receive them and treat them to pipes and coffee? All the fault I had ever had to find with them had been in the interest of their own Government.

How long this amiable sociality among the village chiefs and their Turkish rulers lasted, we shall have an opportunity of seeing hereafter. It was ominous that some days later a fourth of these potentates came to me —Mohammed 'Abd en Nebi, of the opposite faction— entreating for favour, and to be backed at the Seraglio. That day week after, he was in prison, which was, no doubt, the result of coalition among the others, now lately reconciled.

The Government officials continued as venal and peculating as ever, from the highest to the lowest—from Yakoob Kara Osman Oglu himself down to the poorest Tufenkchi (Tufenkchies, gunners, *i.e.* gens d'armes or police) inclusive, and the people suffered in consequence. There was naturally a court party about the Seraglio entirely satisfied with that state of things, rule by bribery being the only known form of Oriental government ever since the days of Ibrahim Pashà (except, perhaps, for a while in Mehmet Kubrisli Pashà's time), and it was one that most particularly suited their private pecuniary interests.

Within a very few days the villagers of Ain Karem, with their elders, came to Jerusalem, imploring help from the French and English Consuls, representing their grievances against the Pashà himself, on account of enormous extortions and personal receipt of bribes.

It must be remembered that all the above-named

local chiefs had been implicated on one side or the other during last year's village wars; and doubtless the new Pashà was informed by the Effendis of the city, connected with the various factions, of the existing rivalries, and was able to profit by them when receiving the customary visits of congratulation and loyalty on his installation in office. Hereafter we shall see that as the Pashà became more feeble, and after his death, the feuds broke out afresh. But, for the present, order prevailed. Doubtless the Government at Constantinople had instructed the Pashà to put down disturbances, or at least to discourage them. All was now quiet.

The Pashà also received visits of homage from the Tokân family of Nabloos, whose rivals, the 'Abdu'l Hâdi, had for some time held the post of Governor of that city.

Within two months the Tokân were installed in office, and the 'Abdu'l Hâdi dispossessed. It was no doubt politic at this juncture to have that important town in the hands of a family whose loyalty to Turkish rule was long and well tried.

In Jerusalem itself we had settled down into the usual routine of business by the middle of April, and we were free from any immediate dread of invasion by either a Russian or a French army.

Our chief anxiety at present was lest there should not be enough bread to eat—unless the coming harvest should prove to yield enough for this country, and also to satisfy the requisitions of the army at the seat of war.

So extraordinary a year for rain, snow, and cold had

not been known to the oldest inhabitant; snow had even fallen at Jaffa—a thing unheard of at that low level. In Jerusalem it had lain deep for days together. Nine inches of snow on the ground, and more falling, had been seen more than once since January. On Easter Monday, April 17, we were glad to sit by the fireside. Torrents of water had flowed down the valleys, but all this was good for the crops, and the harvest promised well. Prices, however, continued distressingly high, and had pilgrims arrived in the usual numbers, there must have been a general famine. There was a fearful amount of distress, but as this was mostly among the Jews, I will give the details in speaking about them.

The usual petty trade of Jerusalem was bad, for although travellers were numerous this year, and came from America as well as from the various countries of Europe, pilgrims were very, very scarce. The uncertainties consequent on the war had deterred them from coming. Indeed, during the early part of the year it had been supposed that Greece was also about to declare war, and in that case Greek pilgrims would have found it impossible to visit Jerusalem in safety. So great was the anxiety on this subject that the few pilgrims of the Oriental creeds in Jerusalem made their excursion to the Jordan a fortnight before the usual time. Moslem pilgrimages to Neby Moosa and Easter celebrations went on as usual.

It was painful to hear on Good Friday the beating of drums and the shouts of the Mohammedan pilgrims who, with flags flying, thronged the streets on their way to or from the Sanctuaries, either in Jerusalem or at Neby

Moosa, near the Dead Sea, where the reputed tomb of the prophet Moses is visited at this season by devotees from all parts where the professors of Islâm are to be found. It is always a matter for congratulation when these pilgrimages come to an end without any collision having occurred between fanatics from among either the Moslem or the Christian pilgrims.

Some of the Moslems of the town fell upon and beat three Abyssinian Christians. They appealed to me for redress as I was walking across the premises of our church; I sent to the Pashà, who at once imprisoned the Moslems, and so put an end to the matter. This, however, had nothing to do with the pilgrimages of either Moslems or Christians, which had passed off quietly.

Mohammedan pilgrims resort to Jersusalem from all the countries of Asia and of Africa, where Islâm is known. Many come from India every year to attend the great pilgrimage to the reputed tomb of Moses at Neby Moosa in the spring season.

Thus it happened that we had many British snbjects among these Moslem pilgrims. There were also British subjects among the resident Moslems—sometimes as many as forty were living together in Jerusalem. Among the crowds of famine-stricken Jews that crowded around our door, amid the snow in March, an unfortunate Indian Durweesh one day presented himself, in the hope (of course, not disappointed) that he too might receive a loaf of bread.

In Jerusalem, and in proximity to the Hharâm esh Shereef (Noble Sanctuary), there are endowed houses (commonly called Convents) for reception of Moslem pil-

grims coming from the remote East. Here they have free lodging and some allowance of food. One of these houses is allotted to Indians (Hinood), and another to Tartars.[1]

Into the latter, the Usbekîyeh (house for Usbeg Tartars), I once accompanied a party of English travellers, being driven in for shelter from a furious storm of rain. One of the English company was on return from high Government office in Burmah, and he fell into conversation with the President of the place, in Persian. This Shaikh was from Bokhâra.

To the other Tekîyeh (the Hindoo) I often escorted Indian civil and military officers (of whom many used to pass through Jerusalem), and partook of the hospitality of these Indian subjects of her Majesty, of their hookah and coffee, or sherbet, the visitors meanwhile chatting in Persian or in Hindustâni—shaded luxuriously by a vine trellis, and overlooking a prospect of the sacred precincts within the Hharam. The inmates of this house were most commonly Punjabee Moslems, but some were Bengalees. One visitor discovered a Rajpoot among these residents in the Indian Convent, and was not at all prepossessed by his manners.

Indians sometimes came to me to the Consulate. Once I was honoured by a visit from a well-dressed gentleman

[1] These Tartars are Sunnis. Our Mohammedans of Turkey being also Sunnis, make it a point to uphold the title of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph of their orthodox pilgrims from all regions of the world. 'The Turkish Mission' at Tehrân exercises a sort of patronage based on the sentiment of common (Turkish) origin and common orthodoxy,—but devoid of all political character—towards these Central Asiatic pilgrims, protecting them as its clients, and furnishing them with a dole of money out of the Sultan's bounty. (Selection from the Writings of Viscount Strangford, vol. ii. p. 137.)

from Delhi, and on my remarking his perfection in speaking English, he replied, in a tone of voice which expressed discomfort, 'Yes, it is the language of our masters, and we have to learn it.'

I was afterwards honoured by a visit from a Durweesh in miserable rags (also a British subject), named Sayid Meer 'Ali, conversant with many Oriental languages, who presented a petition for alms in Persian, in which he described himself as 'the dust of the earth beneath the soles of the feet of his Excellency,' which is a canting phrase among such mendicants, and is used by Durweeshes in Saadis' Gulistân. We conversed in Arabic.

It once happened that on paying a visit, as I had often done before, with an Indian civil officer, to the Indian Tekîyeh (or Convent for Moslem pilgrims) for a gossip on his part in Hindustâni or Persian, or some other dialect of the further East, I remarked that he paid particular attention to two of the inmates—putting them under some degree of catechisation. In returning homewards he expressed his strong idea that these men, as well as some others he had met at Jericho, were members of the Thug society, and urged me to communicate on the subject with the Thuggery department of Bengal. He furnished me with a letter from himself for use in doing so. That step was therefore taken, and in due time a reply arrived from the superintendent to the effect that, from the indications afforded, it was improbable the suspicion could be well founded.

It has been often asked what subject pertaining to any country in the world has not some chord in vibration with Jerusalem. Who would have previously

thought of the Thuggee question ever rising up amongst us there? Next year, however, we had sufficient annoyance from Indian pilgrims connected with, and in anticipation of, the outbreak of the great Indian Revolt.

The failure of Christian pilgrims this year chiefly arose from the Greeks being afraid to come as supposed partisans of Russia in the war. But Latin interests were in the ascendant.

Among the events of this period connected with the Latin Christians, as well as with the European influences in Jerusalem, was the institution of a new Consulate, namely, that of the kingdom of Spain, which was now represented in the person of Don Pio de Andrea Garcia, 'Caballero del real orden de Carlos tercero y aun de Isabella.'

An expectation then floated in the air that this appointment must, to some extent, modify the form or range of French protection of Christianity—seeing that the Spanish monarchy enjoyed the title, Papally bestowed, of 'Most Catholic.' The Spanish friars, at least within the Convents, imagined so, particularly those in the Convents of 'Ain Karem or St. John in the Wilderness (south-west of Jerusalem, about 6 miles off), which is wholly Spanish property.

It may be here stated, in anticipation once for all, that this hope of the Spanish monks was never realised. The French held fast their protectorate, even as superseding within the Convents the rights of nationality, that is to say, persons of Spanish birth having taken upon themselves the Franciscan or Carmelite vows, found that while they were residing within the Ottoman Empire

they had become practically subjects of the French—a nation which they especially dislike; and not only this, but their conventual property was only their own as under French protection.

In this respect the Spaniards are, however, no worse off than Austrians (or any other Roman Catholics), though the Austrians also have a Consul, belonging to their own nation, resident in Jerusalem, who had no more power of acting for Austrian monks than the Spanish Consul had of acting for Spanish monks. Italian friars are, of course, in the same case. They are always numerous in the Holy Land, and the office of President, or Custos, in the 'Terra Santa' headquarters at Jerusalem is always held by an Italian. But these latter did not so much feel the inconvenience of being under French jurisdiction, seeing that since 1849 they had had no Consul of their own, and all the other interests of Italy had been committed to the care of France, in the absence of any Italian Consul.

The reason for what at first sight seems to be a strange arrangement is to be found in the interpretation given to the phrase, 'Protector of Christianity in the East.' This being, as has been before explained, one of the titles accorded to France, in times past, by the Sultans of Turkey, has been interpreted to mean that all Christian (Latin) interests within the Turkish Empire must be protected by and through the French authorities, and by them alone. Every question, therefore, which concerns the religious establishments of the Latins, must be dealt with by their French protectors, who have the exclusive right of interference on their behalf.

Personal and purely secular interests may, of course, be otherwise treated;—an Italian, Spaniard, or Austrian would, of course, go to his own national Consul, where either personal or secular interests were involved. Monks, however, within Convents, cannot be said to have either personal or secular interests apart from those of the community with which they are incorporated, and all the religious communities come under the jurisdiction and protectorate of France.

So it came to pass that the worthy gentleman who arrived in Jerusalem as Spanish Consul had at that time no duties to perform—unless, by very rare chance, a traveller from the Western Peninsula[1] visited Jerusalem. The Spanish Consulate, therefore, turned its attention to the Jewish quarter for procuring subjects, even from among the very people who had been expelled wholesale from their most Catholic country in 1492. But the Sephardim, *i.e.* the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish families of Jerusalem, had been now nearly four centuries settled as Turkish subjects, and therefore could not be had. I heard, however, that after a time two Jewish families, arriving fresh from Oran, accepted the Spanish protection, desiring anything rather than to be accounted Turks. Under the circumstances here described, and with so slender a body of subjects for his jurisdiction, the very dazzling uniform of the Spanish Consul, and full staff of official retainers, were as empty of significance as Queen Isabella's title of Sovereignty in America, or as the Arch-

[1] I believe that the Consulate was also commissioned for Portuguese affairs. South Americans might also, if they chose, have the same protection, but these would give but very trifling additions to the Consular duty. I never heard of any persons from those American countries having arrived.

bishop of Toledo's office as Patriarch of the Indies. But our little European society gained a pleasant addition in M. and Madame de Garcia and their suite, and pure Castilian was thenceforward added permanently to the languages spoken in our drawing-rooms.

French ships of war were now more frequently seen upon the coast of Palestine than heretofore. Their officers visited the Holy City, and in their presence the native Latin Christians lifted up their heads with cheerful expectation. But, nevertheless, I do not remember any instance of insulting triumph, or of undue advantage, taken by the Latins over their 'orthodox' brethren —the natives belonging to the Eastern Churches, who were therefore supposed to be identified with the Russian cause, and who had now no naval or military patronage on their side.

To all outward appearance the Convents of the rival churches also kept peace with each other; even the inveterate disputes between them, to which the public had so long been accustomed, were now suspended, partly because the Sanctuary difficulties had been to some extent decided by the superior lay authority of the Government, whose aid had been invoked by both parties, and partly because the Presidents of the Convents on each side had the wisdom to perceive that collisions during this period of national war could not but lead to ulterior and wider complications.

In April there arrived a second large body of French pilgrims to the Holy Land, six of whom were clergy, and one a baron. They paid at the English Consulate a visit of ceremony. Their two guides and conductor, being the

one an Englishman born and the other a British subject (Latin Maltese), was the reason for this visit being, to some extent, a visit of business, as well as for friendly civility, as through the conductor and his Consulate the necessary arrangements were made.

The visitors expressed a hope that they might receive as much assistance in their expedition to the Jordan and the Dead Sea as they courteously acknowledged their predecessors—the last French party—had received. (It will be remembered that the former party had been in danger of not getting to the Jordan at all, until we succeeded in releasing their baggage animals, which the Turkish authorities had impressed for Government service in the removal of troops to the seat of war.)

The good offices to be rendered by us consisted not only in our protecting their riding and baggage animals from the '*Sukhr*' (Government impressment), but also in making arrangements for their escort, according to the contract made at the British Consulate with the Arab tribes, who monopolised the privilege of conducting travellers through their territories in that direction, according to certain terms of a *tarif* agreed upon, and which was not to be exceeded.[1]

[1] This contract was of great utility during the period when Turkish rule was practically a nonentity. It prevented the Arab tribes from extorting money at their own discretion, or even fighting skirmishes with each other upon the high road for possession of travellers. Each tribe undertook the duty of escort and guard, in regular rotation. The fees were fixed and moderate, and were never exceeded. During this summer, 1854, we succeeded in making a further contract with the Adwân Arabs for escort *beyond* Jordan to Ammân and Jerash. Old 'Abdu'l Azeez, the negotiator, got a present of a blue coat (*Jibbeh*), and shawl for the head (Kefiah); his attendants got a ducat among them, 8s., nominally for shoeing their mares in travelling over our rocky roads, to which they are not accustomed in the desert.

The system of regular responsible escort for travellers had hitherto worked very well. It was now extended to the Eastern side of Jordan.

We had another proof this year of the strengthening of Latin interests in the Holy Land.

In a former chapter (ch. XIII.) I have related the proceedings in the village of Bait Jala, near Bethlehem, between the peasantry of that hitherto Greek and Moslem place and the Latin Patriarch, in respect of the seminary and patriarchal residence which he was endeavouring to establish there. During his residence of about three months the villagers had treated his Grace very unceremoniously, and he resolved to appeal in person to Constantinople. He was in great indignation with the Turkish authorities, and left Jerusalem in February in company of the French Consul.

By means of the immense weight of the French Embassy at the Porte at this time, and owing to the annihilation, for the present, of Russo-Greek influence there, the Patriarch was successful in obtaining a firmân of authorisation for carrying out his plans.

The Patriarch returned from Constantinople on August 21st. So great was the stir and preparation made for his reception that I was obliged to give up an expedition into the country, which had been arranged for that day, being unable to hire a horse for my kawwâs, every beast being engaged for the triumphant procession of the Patriarch in the afternoon. The firing of muskets in *feux de joie* announced the approach of his party, and we watched the arrival over the hills from the West. It was a pretty sight.

The cavalcade was, of course, headed by mounted kawwâsses, bearing their silver staves of office. The Patriarch's own kawwâsses were accompanied by those of the French and other Roman Catholic Consulates, and the Turkish authorities had also sent officials, according to custom, to join in the reception.

The reluctant owner of the site chosen by the Patriarch was called on to sell it, but he—a peasant of the place—being in the interest of the Greek Church, still refused to accept from the Latin invaders the price offered for his land, though it was a very handsome sum. This was then placed in deposit in the hands of the Turkish authorities. Three years later I know he had not accepted the money. It may be that he took it at last, under a threat of losing it altogether. The new buildings were, however, begun and carried out. All efforts at creating a disturbance were sternly repressed with a high hand under the Turkish administration, quickened by the zeal of the French Consulate.

The humble village church of the Greeks was speedily eclipsed by the pretentious architecture of the Latin church—the Patriarch's palace rose adjoining out of the extensive olive grove, and to it was removed, from Jerusalem, the clerical seminary for the education of *native* youths (a system hitherto seldom adopted by the Greek Church) in an European curriculum of theology and other studies. The three establishments formed three sides of a quadrangle, and the fine church bell now resounds there among the hills, being heard both at Rachel's Sepulchre and at Bethlehem.

Hitherto Eastern Christians living in South Palestine

had been compelled to observe the terms of capitulation with their Moslem conquerors under Omar—to abstain from building new churches and from ringing church bells. Instead of bells they were obliged to use the *nakoos*, or a plank of wood suspended, and struck with a hammer for the purpose of calling the congregation to service.

We had a small bell within the premises of our English Church, since 1846, which was at first used to call our builders together, and at the Latin Convent a small bell was also used. Excepting for these, the sound of bells would have been unknown to the inhabitants. In July, 1854, our small bell was replaced by a larger one over the gateway in our church premises. But now the Latins were able to rejoice in having at least been able to set one good bell ringing over the Judean hills.

There was another reason besides his satisfaction in the triumph over the Greek Church, which made the Patriarch rejoice in his success in founding an establishment at Bait Jala. This place is sufficiently near to the Sanctuary of Bethlehem to be a convenient residence for the Patriarch, who would have found some difficulty in establishing himself at Bethlehem itself, because the ground there was preoccupied by the monks residing in the Latin Convent.

The secular clergy, who arrived in the Holy Land in the Patriarch's train, had always been regarded with a certain amount of jealousy and disfavour by the monks, who had come to look upon themselves as the rightful representatives of Latin Christianity, and who did not at all feel inclined to submit themselves and their concerns to the Patriarchate. Indeed the Superiors of

Terra Santa Convents made a determined resistance to the pretensions of the Latin Patriarch to have control of their revenues. The monks sturdily refused to hand over the moneys which were remitted from Europe, or to render any account of expenditure.

In this quarrel between the Patriarch and his seculars and the monks, the latter were supported by the Austrian Consulate, on the ground that a large portion of the funds in dispute were contributed by the faithful in the Austrian Empire. The Consul even threatened to send the chests of dollars back intact to Europe, rather than allow the Patriarch to touch them. The quarrel was referred to Rome for decision, and the result was in favour of the monks, who were confirmed in their rights, and in the freedom of their financial affairs from the Patriarchal interference.

The monks would assuredly not have been pleased had the Patriarch attempted to establish himself and his people in Bethlehem itself; but they could not, of course, raise any objection to the founding of a Latin institution at Bait Jala, especially as this was done in despite of the Greeks; and so the Latin Patriarchate and college, with its church, may now be seen over against Bethlehem with its ancient Convent, while Rachel's Sepulchre by the way-side lies between the two.

The Patriarch's buildings were not completed without giving offence to the French authorities; for it was discovered one day that his Grace had had sculptured over the principal entrance his own family coat-of-arms, instead of any emblem denoting the Patriarchal office (excepting his official hat), or, what had been fully ex-

pected, the arms of France, through whose efforts alone the institution had been begun and brought to a completion. The Patriarch's arms, being carved on the keystone of the arch, could not be easily removed, and they were suffered to remain.

The Latin Patriarch, while availing himself to the full of the advantages to the Latin cause of the Turkish alliance with France, was personally strongly opposed to the Emperor of the French. It was found on one occasion that at a banquet the portrait of the Emperor was turned with its face to the wall, while the companion portrait of the Empress was properly hung. Both had been sent to him as presents from the French Court.

The seminary at Bait Jala was likely to prove a most useful institution in furthering the Latin cause. Proselytes from other communities were always welcomed by both the Convent and the Patriarchal party. As in other countries, so in Palestine, the Roman Catholics held out to those among whom they laboured the tempting bait of education. Monks would send promising youths for education to Rome, the nuns offered education in Paris to any who seemed likely to care for European accomplishments; and the Patriarch and the Dames de Sion saw the wisdom of founding educational institutions near Jerusalem; for people of all creeds had awoke to the advantages of education, and were desirous to have it as a means of advancement in condition and in wealth.

The Latin Patriarch frequently represented how few the Latins are in Turkey as compared with the Christians

of the Greek Church or those of other Eastern churches. In this he was in perfect accord with the monks and with Roman Catholic pilgrims, who were always lamenting the persecutions and injustice to which they and 'their little flock' were habitually exposed at the hands of the Greek Church. But vigorous measures were now being taken to remedy this state of things, and to win converts to the Latin fold.

There was, however, one serious obstacle to the efforts made by the Latins to obtain proselytes from other Christian Churches. This was the disgust felt among Easterns at the assumption by the Pope of the office and title of Vicegerent of Christ. The phrase '*Wakeel Allah*,' 'the Deputy (*alter ego*) of God,' is to the Oriental mind nothing short of blasphemy.

The English travellers in Palestine had been numerous this year. The services in our church on Easter Day were numerously attended. At the early morning Arabic service there were Arabs present from Gifna (Gophna) as well as from other villages. One of the Bethlehem women present had put on a splendid new dress in honour of the festival.

At the 10 o'clock English service the Church was full, although the heavy rain kept some of the travellers away. There were seventy-eight communicants, besides the three officiating clergy. Among this number were a good many native Christians.

Hitherto we had been unable to erect any kind of belfry for our church—Moslem law, or rather the Jerusalem Capitulations, forbidding Christians to use bells; but in the course of this year a small belfry was put up

on one of the mission buildings, and from that time forward the bell—not a large one, but having a good full sound—was regularly rung for Divine service at all times.

Abdu'l Wahhad, the Kâdi of Nabloos, and some of the chief members of the Tokân family, visited our church, and expressed their delight at the absence of images and pictures.

On Sunday a large number of Sephardi Jews came to the church, and waited long before the doors were open, when they came in and stayed to witness the service. This was a very unusual thing, for the Rabbinical Jews are afraid of magical influence being exerted upon them by what they may hear, or by the crosses and other things to be found in Latin and Greek churches.

On the same day a number of Greek monks came in also during Divine service.

Our travellers had gone about with as much freedom as usual, without any inconvenience, excepting that one, who had ventured too near the Temple Sanctuary on the City Wall, was hurt by a stone which a Moslem boy had thrown at him in his fanatical anger.

The military commandant had allowed us, for the first time, to take a large party of travellers to the top of the Citadel, or Tower of David, to the no small astonishment of the Moslems when they beheld them on the top of the castle.

The Chief of the Adwân Arabs, from the Jordan plain, Dëâb el 'Adwân, came to Jerusalem on his own business, and sent me word that he was able and willing to arrange for the drawing up of the contract whereby the comfort

and safety of English travellers might be secured. He announced that the Chief Abdu'l Azeez was ready to come if invited.

This meant that the Bedawy Chief and his suite were within reach somewhere on the east of the Mount of Olives, which serves as a barrier between the civilised world, having government authority, and Desert rule and territory. The wild men shelter in quiet nooks behind it, and there communicate with people who may give them the meeting.

In a few hours the Shaikh appeared. He and his party are real wild Arabs—dirty, and forming a strong contrast to his cousin Dëâb, who is dressed as clean and as well as any Effendi of the town, but with a more magnificent sword than any Effendi. They are both tall fellows, with hawk eyes and noses. All the Adwân party were childishly curious about the house and furniture (so new to them).

The celebration of the Queen's birthday was always duly observed at the British Consulate on May 24th, according to the custom by which the birthdays of foreign sovereigns were celebrated at the Consulate belonging to their respective nations. Every Consul came in uniform to pay his respects, accompanied by his suite in full state. The Patriarchs, Chief Rabbis of the Jews, the Turkish authorities, and principal inhabitants of every creed, also joined in thus doing honour to the day.

These visitors were always received by the Consul of the nation whose royal birthday was thus being kept, in full uniform, and they were entertained with sweetmeats, sherbets, pipes, and coffee.

Our Queen's birthday this year was kept with much ceremony. The first visitor at half-past 8 in the morning was our friend M. Botta, the French Consul, who had previously sent us some beautiful and rare flowers from his garden.

In the evening the rooms were filled again by a large party—the new Spanish Consul and his lady speaking Castilian, our French and other visitors their respective languages, Arab Christian ladies in silks and diamonds, with natural flowers in their head-dresses. The Prussian Pastor and our Bishop were in one corner discussing the war and Prussian politics with the Prussian Consul, whose bride, newly arrived, played classical music on the pianoforte, as she, being a Moschelles, could play; and at intervals a pilgrim from Germany, who had wandered hither, gave sweet music on his harp.

The Pashà had not come that day, probably because he was so old and feeble; and the Sephardi Chief Rabbi was ill, so he, too, was absent.

At the close of the evening 'God save the Queen' was sung, and the second verse with special emphasis in present circumstances, when war was actually going on, for the Austrian post had told us of the Russians having crossed the Danube, that our fleet had gone to Varna, and had also brought indistinct rumours of a Greek insurrection.

So much for the city and its affairs. Though our Pashà was eighty-four years old, he certainly did govern with a much firmer hand than his predecessor had done, and he subdued the country under him.

We had, besides, at present a respectable garrison of

troops in Jerusalem, and so were kept in peace for some time. As for the surrounding country, a disturbance might occasionally be imminent among the villagers; but it was a comfort to know that there was no one man with influence enough to rally the discontented around him. 'Abderrahhmân el Amer (of Hebron) and Abu Gosh both understood their lucrative positions too well to be induced to interrupt the general tranquillity to any great extent, and the Government contented itself with inspiring awe into the peasantry by now and then taking out the two brass field-pieces on to the Meidân, or public promenade, outside the city, and firing them off. The reverberations of sound against the hills were multiplied along the valleys far away. These two were the only portable pieces of artillery possessed by the Ottoman Sultan, between Egypt and Acre.

There was, however, another weighty reason for the present repose of our rural champions. The new Grand Vizier was Mehemet Kubrusli Pashà, before referred to, whose name inspired more terror than the two brass guns. In 1846–7, when he was Pashà of Jerusalem, he had made them all feel that they had a master. His seizure and banishment of turbulent chieftains were still vividly remembered, and his being now at the height of power as the Grand Vizier at Constantinople had a great effect on the population.

It was probably under this influence that one day three of the leaders in the Civic Divân (Mejlis) were suddenly placed under arrest, and speedily shipped off to Constantinople, as being politically suspected. These were Mohammed Durweesh Effendi, 'Ali Nakeeb Effendi, and

Khaleel Effendi. They affected in public that they were going on a visit to congratulate the new Vizier, Kubrusli Pashà, their old acquaintance, and actually came to take a ceremonial leave of me on the occasion, reckoning upon the favourable idea this step would produce among the people. This ceremony was performed, and no allusion was made on either side to the true state of affairs.

Another sudden blow was struck within the city. The Chief of the Police, Khaleel Aga er-Ressâs, was convicted of collusion in a theft committed with violence in the house of a Jew under English protection. He was deprived of office, and was imprisoned for several weeks. He has been previously described as being a man of notoriously bad reputation. He had been so long in office that his power was great, and it was incredible what efforts were made at the British Consulate, directly and indirectly, to obtain his release.

There were visits of official persons interceding on his behalf, private conversations of Jews under terror of what his revengeful spirit (and we had only too great cause to know what a vindictive, cruel man he was) might prompt his relations and spies to do. Efforts were made by village Shaikhs to bribe the *employés* of the Consulate to speak in his favour—even Bedaween Chiefs introduced the subject, amid other matter, when met in unexpected places. Dëâb Adwân from beyond Jordan came to the office for the purpose of intercession, but it was observed that he had on a new suit of clothes and a new sword—things which told plainly that he was not disinterested.

It was our custom to have the post conveyed between Jaffa and Jerusalem by our own kawwâs, often by night,

and always in perfect safety, although the French Consul's postman, with kawwâsses, had been occasionally plundered of property (not of letters) on the way.

One night, however, in the course of the summer, the English post was stopped on the Plain of Sharon by a noted thief named Sa'adeh,[1] not for the purpose of robbery, but to expostulate on the imprisonment of this same Khaleel Aga er-Ressâs, Chief of the Police, at the instance of the British Consulate, as described, because he (Sa'adeh) was under an obligation of gratitude to this man for having, not long before, allowed him to escape from the Seraglio dungeon for a bribe of 1,400 piastres and a quantity of silver—(peasant) women's ornaments. As it was, the robber only vented his displeasure, but declared that if it had been another of my men, whom he named, that he had met, he should have adopted other measures than the use of unpleasant words.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The arrest and imprisonment of this arch offender attracted a great deal of attention. For many years he and a gang of accomplices, robbers and murderers, mostly of the lowest class of Moslem peasantry of Bethlehem, Lifta, and Siloam, had been the terror of the city and neighbourhood. Chief of the police as he was, he had been in league with all the well-known desperadoes inside and outside of the city.

The lion's share of all spoils fell to him, and if now and then some of his accomplices happened to be caught and arrested, sometimes with his connivance to save appearances, he as chief of the police knew how to lighten their imprisonment and to facilitate their escape. His audacity at last led to his fall. He was caught in the fact of robbing an English *protégé*,

[1] Since hanged at Jerusalem in 1865.

and the Turkish authorities were made to understand that for no consideration (and this man had amassed great wealth, which he was able to use in bribery) must they this time condone his crimes or let him escape. Thus was Jerusalem rid of an insupportable plague.

But many dark threats of vengeance were uttered against those who had succeeded in checking his career, and it needed a good deal of quiet courage to turn a deaf ear to all hints and intimations of danger, and to persevere in requiring his detention during many months for his crimes, and then after his release in preventing his being at any time reinstated in office.

The influence of the British Consulate was vigorously exerted in bringing this offender to justice, and in keeping the Turkish authorities to their duty in carrying out his punishment, which was after all but slight in comparison with the long list of heinous crimes which he had committed. The chief of the police was not the only criminal of his gang, who in an evil hour for himself meddled with British *protégés*. Others too were detected and punished, and thievery among those who could look to the Consulate for redress was checked for a long time to come.

The lesson of this chastisement was not without considerable effect on all offenders and on the public.

The northern portion of my Consular district had of late remained quiet. The advantage of having a native Englishman as Vice-Consul at the port of Caifa now became very manifest. Levantines or Eastern Christians might be hoodwinked or intimidated, as they usually were in troublous times. Very few persons of their classes understand what we mean by either personal or moral courage. Moreover, they have generally trade of their own to attend to, which involves them in personal relations with the authorities and the inhabitants. They view matters from a special aspect only—they rarely

leave the town where they reside unless it be for some business transaction of their own with the peasantry. However upright and willing they may be, they cannot show the bold front which a British agent should always be ready to show; they cannot obtain information as an Englishman can, from unbiassed sources. They have not the vigour necessary to allow of prompt action. They dare not risk loss in their own trade or business by which they live, and are thus hampered just at the very time when independence is essential. (One of our Consular agents, Mr. M. d'A. Finzi, of Acre, had done us good service during a long period of years, dating back to before the occupation of Syria by the Egyptians. He was of Jewish birth, and much respected by his people.)

We had at this time Mr. E. T. Rogers as our Vice-Consul at Caifa, the central harbour of Palestine, close to the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, within easy reach of Galilee on the one hand, and Samaria on the other, and of the great plain of Esdraelon, Nazareth, and Tiberias—midway between Jerusalem and Bayroot, and on the direct line of communication by sea with Jaffa, Tyre, and Sidon—Egypt and Europe. Thus I was able to obtain trustworthy information as to the course of events within an important part of the country. Mr. Rogers spoke, read, and wrote Arabic fluently. In case of troubles breaking out, we had also in him an officer ready and able to proceed at once to the spot, whenever the presence of a British agent was likely to restrain evil-doers or to strengthen the hands of the Turkish Government. During the disturbances at Hebron in 1855, and at Nabloos in 1856, Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers rendered

essential service—especially in the rescue of the Rev. S. Lyde from his dangerous position in Nabloos—which will be described hereafter.

Early in 1854 the Moslems of Caifa were restless and troublesome—one of them beat a Jew, a British *protégé* —but no witnesses ventured to come forward and give evidence for conviction of the offender. The harbour-master used insolent language in public, cursing the French and the English nations, and other proofs were given of the irritable state of feeling of the Moslems. But no serious mischief was attempted, the first beginning having been promptly noticed and checked.

In this, and this alone, lay our strength; the immediate measures, taken on the smallest occasion, to restrain lawless or offensive conduct to British subjects, and this during a long course of years previously, had created a prestige which now proved our defence, and the defence of many thousands of people where no other help or defence was to be got.

During the period that I have been describing, no English ships of war arrived at the port of Jaffa nor off the coast at Carmel and Caifa. It was some years since any British naval officers had been seen in Jerusalem. Scarcely any merchant vessels of our nation had been seen upon the Syrian coast, and not a single steamer, so that it became a matter of wonder among the Orientals how England could still deserve the appellation of a great seafaring nation, especially as she was actually paying the French 'Messageries' Company for carrying our letters and despatches in the Levant; in short, for being our post-carrier.

It is true that our naval power was visible enough elsewhere, and our commerce was well known in the distant hemisphere—but surely here, in a country where communication was slow and deficient, it would have been advantageous to have British patriotism encouraged and Consular efforts backed by at least an occasional reminder of our national capabilities. This would have had a wholesome effect on fanatic and unruly Mohammedans, who could have done much mischief before any succour could arrive from Corfu where our nearest ships of war then lay.

Symptoms of danger several times showed themselves. It was fortunate that there lingered in the country a pretty clear remembrance of Sir Sidney Smith's prowess at Acre, and of his march into Jerusalem in defence of the Christians; as also of the more recent affair at Acre in 1840, when so much was ascribed to the prowess of British sailors and soldiers. Happily in the minds of the natives these events were still by no means out of date—and there was a general idea that if matters went very wrong British ships would appear on the coast again—and would somehow manage to send men where they might be wanted for the protection of the oppressed.

Divine Providence watched over us, and at the end we were able to say, 'All's well that ends well.'

Of course at so important a crisis it was most necessary for each Consul, as well as interesting to others, to learn how affairs were proceeding elsewhere. Letters and newspapers would naturally form the staple means of

getting intelligence, but our posts were few and far between.

It is strange, in these days of rapid telegraphic communication, to look back upon the condition we were in, in Jerusalem, during the Crimean war, as to communication with Europe.

Yet in this respect we were better off than we had been. There was now an established French postal steamer, passing fortnightly between Alexandria and Smyrna, which brought European letters and journals from the former, and those of Constantinople from the latter, on the return voyage. But thanks to our coast, all lying open as it does, without harbours, the mails in bad weather would pass on, to be reconveyed back to our port at Jaffa by the next opportunity. At such times we often regretted the loss of our little 'Emmetje,' the fast-sailing English packet, which used to bring us our mails to Bayroot, whence a foot messenger brought our letters in four days, and would brave all weathers, but which was supplanted by the French steamer in 1848.

In looking back to the notes of 1853, I am particularly struck with the frequent entries of the mail-packet being late in from Egypt, or of its having been seen labouring away far out at sea. Later, we had also an Austrian Lloyd's packet plying in the intermediate weeks, but I derived very little benefit from its transit, which was only between Constantinople and Egypt, though it is true it picked up Trieste mails at the end of each trip. We still had in addition the weekly messenger from Bayroot in the Turkish service.

Our continental news was derived from the various

European Consuls and residents. I had not as yet begun to take in, as I did later on, the 'Allgemeine Zeitung,' or the Smyrniote ' Ἀλήθεια.' M. Botta, my French colleague, was always ready to impart to me his public news, and to exchange journals for reading; he was well supplied with news from Constantinople.

We had heard in this way last November (1853) the French official account of the Turks having crossed the Danube at the two points of Widdin and Rustchuk—and that they had kept their ground—though with the loss of Ismail Pashà and 5,000 men, the Russians having lost 7,000. These large numbers doubtless included the wounded. Also, that in Asia, near Batoom, the Turks had driven back a quarantine post; it was besides stated unofficially, but positively, that the allied fleet was to enter the Black Sea, and that contracts were being made for supplies and conveyance to the northern coast of Asia Minor.

Moreover, it was reported that the French Ambassador was changed for one who was a General in the army, and was attended by seven or eight *aides-de-camp*, and that Russia, Prussia, and Austria had addressed a collective note to France demanding of her to withdraw the protecting troops from Rome. This news 'merited confirmation,' for Europe had more pressing business on hand than the independence of the Papal part of Italy.

In a few weeks more, early in 1854, we learned that Lord Palmerston was out of office,[1] and that the four

[1] Lord Palmerston had resigned after the disaster at Sinope.

Powers were still labouring to patch up a reconciliation with Russia, at which our friend Botta waxed exceedingly wroth.

During the whole of this period it was a matter of some anxiety, next to watching the deeds of arms in actual progress, to wait for the effect of negotiations in Vienna previous to the operations being transferred to the Crimea. It seemed all very well and suitable for the German Powers to insist upon Russia evacuating the Principalities on the Danube, since that was necessary for their own national safety and interest. Prussia could not be neutral on the first breaking out of the Crimean war. Until Russia had evacuated the Principalities, the interests of Prussia were threatened, as were those of Austria. By evacuating the Principalities, Russia disarmed the resentment which Prussia might have felt, and made it possible to detach her from alliance with the hostile Powers.[1]

Prussia and Austria having insisted upon Russia evacuating the Principalities, was a totally different question from whether they were disposed to take active measures for the defence of Turkey. Diplomatically, of course, and in accordance with treaties, they talked about maintaining the balance of power in the south and east of Europe; but were they not jealous of an augmented influence accruing to the Anglo-French alliance?—and

[1] Now, when we have another Russian war, things are very different. The Principalities have been given to a Hohenzollern. Austria, the Roman Catholic nation, with interests antagonistic both in Church and State to those of Russia, has been humbled. Prussia has been aggrandised. The Principalities *now* give Russia vantage ground as a point of attack upon Turkey.—Editor's Note, 1877.

were they not willing to leave themselves at liberty to share in the spoils of 'the sick man' in the event of his decease—deceiving themselves also into the belief that it was truly impending?

There must have been in their minds a possibility of Russia coming victorious out of the huge struggle; and under that hypothesis it surely would be more profitable—during the necessary partition—that Russia should regard them with sentiments of gratitude rather than as having alienated themselves during the struggle by unfriendly conduct. Besides the political calculations there were personal friendships and relationships existing between some of these German Sovereigns and the Czar.

The Prussian and Austrian ambassadors in St. Petersburg attended the Thanksgiving Service for destruction by the Russians of the Turkish fleet in harbour at Sinope.

Supposing that the allies should on the contrary come out triumphant, and Turkey remain entire, there would be nothing in prospect for the various Powers but diplomacy wherewith to weave some novel tangled net.

We gathered the sentiments cherished by that party in Jerusalem from the language used—and from the acts performed that came under our observation.

At the same time their positive opinions were far from being held in reserve, but were cheerily expressed by indiscreet gossipers on politics—(who spoke English easily—and several of whom lived on incomes drawn from English sources) that Prussia was the power destined to possess Palestine at the coming dissolution of the Ottoman Em-

pire. The break-up was not to be limited to European Turkey. It was a settled thing that a general Congress, such as that of Vienna, in 1814, would be held, which would not suffer either France or Russia to take Palestine —these nations being interested rivals of old date for grasping the Holy Places; that England, although professing no design upon the Sanctuaries, had yet one deep important political stake in keeping open the highway to India, and therefore must be (so it was said) an object of dislike and distrust to the Orientals (who were duly reminded of this on all convenient occasions); that the minor Roman Catholic nations would necessarily be followers in the track of France—as Greece would be in that of Russia; there remained therefore only Prussia—a people new upon the scene, not weighty enough to excite jealousy, and having no antecedent history in the East to create prejudice. Prussia was therefore the nation predestined and fitted by Divine Providence to fill up that particular void which was about to be made, in respect of the rule over Palestine.[1]

It seemed to have missed the notice of these Jerusalem politicians that in their imagined Congress France, Russia, and England would be present and would vote on their own behalf.

All this was amusing enough.

Just about this time we heard of the removal of Chevalier, then Baron, von Bunsen, from the Prussian Embassy in

[1] That this idea is still in existence among a part of the Prussian public I am not disposed to doubt in view of Prussian extension in the Levant of late years.

[These words were written in 1872 by the Author, who did not live to see the consolidation of the German Empire in the hands of Prussia.]—EDITOR'S NOTE.

London. Some of our talkers expressed their satisfaction at the change.

What my old friend had done to deserve this from them I know not, but the turn of what seemed to me ingratitude towards him was unexpected; for it was he who had been the special agent in promotion of the Jerusalem Anglican Bishopric, which had been projected as a particular link of amity between England and Prussia in the Holy Land.

This amity had been most cordially fostered and kept up by the late Doctor Schultz—first Prussian Consul at Jerusalem—and also by the Consul-General, M. von Wildenbruch. Dr. Schultz died before the war broke out, but his cousin, M. Weber, kept up friendly intercourse now, and during many subsequent years, while he was Consul-General at Bayroot.

There were other persons, however, among our community, of very different temper and opinions. It was disagreeable for an Englishman to be obliged to hear in silence—even under my own roof—(which I should not have done as a private person), the coarse taunts cast upon rumoured failures in action, and the political thick-headedness of John Bull.

Great forbearance was necessary, but the duties and responsibilities of office required that forbearance should be exercised towards all, and by this means, from the very first rumours of the coming war, and throughout its continuance, the social intercourse of daily life was kept unbroken among the strangely-mingled society at Jerusalem. The various residents and the passers-by used to meet in friendly gatherings at the British Consu-

late, as on neutral ground. The lists of guests included people of all kinds, Roman Catholics and Eastern Christians, Europeans of all the different nations (including the Russian sympathisers among the Anglo-German residents), French officials and Turkish authorities (when there were any of the latter in the city). All used to meet in a friendly way, and this in the midst of the ecclesiastical rivalries, the village fightings, the war rumours—and all that was disquieting in the condition of the Turkish Empire.

Some of the folk in Jerusalem openly and constantly expressed their dislike of everything French—and hatred of the new French Emperor individually. The coldness, in words and looks, of all Germans, whether residents or travellers, concerning the great events then in progress in the South of Europe, was significant of the mind within, even when clothed with the courtesy and tact of the old Austrian party. This party most certainly did not join in the expectations described above, as being entertained by those Germans who believed Palestine would fall to the share of Prussia.

The connection, moreover, of Austria with Latin interests, gave her a very different view of present circumstances from that of Prussia. Neither was Austria so indifferent as Prussia might be to the movements of Russia on her own borders.

During all these summer months rumour was busily at work, and by no means always innocently at work.

From Damascus we were informed, on what seemed excellent authority, that the Russians were busy in

Bokhara and Khiva, stirring up trouble among the Moslems against Turkey on that side.

The various rumours which reached us in Jerusalem about the progress of the War, and about European and Asiatic politics, influenced the condition of affairs in Palestine to a considerable extent.

True, these rumours were often inaccurate, sometimes false, and were circulated purposely with a view to certain ends. But we had to deal with them at the time, and it is therefore needful to allude to them in the course of our narrative.

There were occasional alarms, or encouragements, in these rumours, which were sometimes brought by travellers or Arab coasting vessels, which, of course, could not be depended on, and which are amusing enough to look back upon now.

For instance, the skipper of an Arab shakhtoor (coasting boat) brought to Jaffa positive tidings that 40,000 Sepoys had arrived at Suez from India for reinforcement of the British army.[1] He (the informant) 'had seen their commander at Alexandria.' Next we heard of an insurrection in Greece, moved by the Russians; also that a merchant ship had been seized at Constantinople laden with Russian combustibles, intended for the destruction of the capital.

Then we heard, prematurely, that the allied army had advanced to Varna, at least a fortnight before that step was really taken, and before the Council of War had

[1] While these pages have been passing through the press, what then seemed likely to the Oriental mind has happened—Sepoys from India have, not, 'arrived at Suez,' but passed through the Suez Canal and arrived at Malta.—EDITOR'S NOTE, 1878.

resolved upon it. Later an American frigate—'The Levant'—brought news that in the Baltic the British fleet had captured seven line-of-battle ships in an engagement, but had lost three.

Later still the Pashà sent me word that affairs were going on well at Silistria, and that a considerable advantage had been gained, notwithstanding the loss of Moosa Pashà. We now know that the Russians had already raised the siege of Silistria three days before the above news reached Jerusalem by Tatar courier from Constantinople. It was, therefore, very old news. His Excellency made, however, no mention (probably because his despatch had not mentioned it) of the immense benefit the Turks had derived from our English volunteer officers in the defence of Silistria and Giurgevo.

The tidings of the disaster at Sinope, the bombardment of Odessa, and the safe landing of the allied army in the Crimea, reached us with tolerable clearness—the two latter from newspapers, while the former excited much righteous indignation, which was stirred up to greater heat by coloured prints on sale in the bazaars, representing the scene in abundance of fiery red and yellow colour. All our public information tended to show that the martial spirit of Turkey was rising to the emergency. Very likely it was so out of Syria.

This narrative has shown how unknown is national feeling among the various races of Syria—that there could be no national sympathy for the Turks, and that there was no martial spirit to be aroused on that score. The only cause of uneasiness in Palestine arose from the religious aspect of the war, and from the fanaticism of

those Moslems who were disposed to regard this war as the long-expected Holy War between all Christians on the one side, and all Moslems on the other. So far, however, it was doubtful whether the Christians would all be ranged in antagonism to Turkey. As long as it seemed likely that the war would be only a political one, in which Turkey might have Christian allies, there was no imminent danger of a wholesale rising of Moslems against the Christian inhabitants—provided always that local quarrels were not permitted to come to any dangerous condition. There was, of course, always the danger of foreign intrigue stirring up mischief—whether in the shape of fanatical aggression upon the Christians, or of simple insurrection of the Moslem subjects against their Turkish rulers—by means of the local feuds and enmities always rife in the country.

In regard to these contingencies and dangers, the British nation stood, as it were, between all the conflicting parties, politically as having no quarrel with Turkey —who rather looked to her for obtaining some measure of justice and fair play—and in religious matters for the reason that it was known to all men, even the most ignorant in the land, that we were in no way mixed up in the religious antagonism between the Eastern Churches, headed by Russia, and the Western or Latin Churches, headed by France.

The natives of Syria knew moreover that an immense body of Moslems in India (forty millions) were under British rule, and that, so far, the Sultan, as their common religious chief (for so he was regarded by the Syrian Moslems and by many of the Indian pilgrims), had had

no cause to complain of our neglect to fulfil our engagements towards them or towards himself.

They all knew that England had been a friend to the oppressed of all races and creeds—ready to advocate the cause of any who were suffering wrong, whether Moslem peasant, or Jew, Samaritan, Druse, or oppressed Christian of whatever Church.

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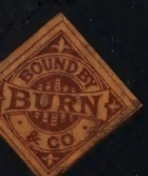
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